

**ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED**

Robertson
History of the
Christian Church

Robertson
v.2,pt.2
1867487

STORAGE

DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS FROM POCKET

PUBLIC LIBRARY

FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN COUNTY, IND.

STO



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_S0-EMD-225_d7s0

4488

1867457

HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

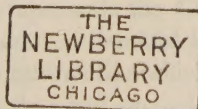
FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT
TO THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS

²
(A.D. 590-1122).

V. 2, pt. 2

By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A.,

VICAR OF BEKESBOURNE, IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY.



LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1856.

deny the Son of God and persecute the faithful." Alvar argues from the prophecies that Mahomet is the forerunner of Antichrist.^x The sufferings of the Christians, he says, had not been drawn down on them by the violence of zealots—for the first victims had done nothing to provoke their fate—but by the sins of the community.^y He will allow no compliance with circumstances, no forbearance to force the Christian profession on the notice of the infidels.^z He maintains that our Lord's charge to His disciples, "when persecuted in one city to flee into another," is inapplicable in the present case, since the object of it was that the disciples should spread the Gospel more widely—not that they should hide it.^a He would have Christians to press the truth on the Moslems for the purpose of rendering them "debtors to the faith"—not (as it would seem) out of love for them, but to make them inexcusable.^b

Abderrahman was succeeded, in 852, by his son Mohammed, who carried the proceedings against the Christians further.^c On the first day of his reign he dismissed all who held any offices about the court or in the public service.^d He ordered that all churches which had been lately built should be destroyed, and prohibited all display in the ritual or in the furniture of the older churches which were allowed to stand.^e The persecution continued for many years. Eulogius himself, who had been elected to the see of Toledo, fell a victim to it in 859, in consequence of having aided a young female convert to escape from her parents, who were bigoted Mahometans; and he firmly resisted all the importunities of some Arabs who, out of respect for his sanctity and learning, endeavoured to persuade him to save his life by slight concessions.^f

During this long persecution many of the more lukewarm Christians openly apostatised to the religion of Islam.^g The heats on both sides at length died away, and the old relations of the parties were restored. A German abbot, who went on an embassy to Cordova in 954, represents the Christians as living peaceably with their masters, and as thankful for the toleration which they enjoyed; nay, if the information which he received may be trusted, it would appear that they had carried their compliance so far as to submit to the rite of circumcision.^h

^x p. 288, d.^y C. 21.^z Eulog. M. SS. ii. 16; iii. 1.^y Ce. 3. 18.^z Ce. 16-7.^a Ib. iii. 3.^a C. 2. p. 223.^f Pagi, xiv. 498; Neander, v. 471-2.^b C. 10, p. 234. See Neander, v. 474.^g Gieseler, II. i. 151-2.^c Eulog. M. SS. ii. 16; Pagi, xiv.^h Vita Johannis Abbat. Gorziensis, cc. 123-4; ap. Pertz, iv. 372.

II. England, like France, was harassed and desolated by the ravages of the Northmen. Their first appearance on the coasts was in the year 767;ⁱ the first descent which was severely felt was in 832.^k From that time their invasions were incessant. Devon and Wales felt their fury as well as the eastern coasts; when the attention of the English was concentrated on one point, another band of enemies appeared in an opposite quarter; and they penetrated into the very heart of the country.^m And here, as in France, the wealth and the defencelessness of the monasteries pointed these out as the chief objects of attack. The chronicles of the time abound in frightful details of their wasting with fire and sword the sanctuaries of Ely, where their lust as well as their cruelty and profanity was exercised on the nuns of St. Etheldreda; of Repton and Coldingham; of Lindisfarne, from which a little band of monks carried off the relics of St. Cuthbert over the mountains of Northumbria, in continual fear of the ravagers who surrounded them on every side.ⁿ At length, in 878, after the victory gained by Alfred over Guthrum at Edington, a large territory in the east of England, north of the Thames, was ceded to the Danes, on condition of their professing Christianity, and living under equal laws with the native inhabitants;^o but the peace thus obtained was only for a time.

Of the glory of Alfred's reign it is needless to speak to readers who may be presumed to know in any degree the history of their country. He succeeded his father in 871, at the age of twenty-two,^p and his reign lasted thirty years. His character may have been idealised in some respects, that it might fulfil the conception of a perfect sovereign; and institutions have been ascribed to him which are in truth derived from other sources.^q But historical reality exhibits to us this "darling of the English"—"Alfred the Truth-teller"^r—as the deliverer, the lawgiver, and the wise ruler of his country, as a hero, and as a saint. It sets before us his efforts to revive the public spirit which had become all but extinct during the long calamities of the Danish invasions;^s his zealous and successful labours to repair in mature years the defects of his early educa-

ⁱ Chron. Sax. A.D. 787.

^k Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 171.

^m The Danish ravages are very fully related in Mr. McCabe's second volume. A more condensed account is given by Lingard, A. S. C. ii. c. 12.

ⁿ Sym. Dunelm. Hist. Dunelm. ii. 6, 10.

^o Spelman, Life of Alfred, ed. Hearn, Oxon. 1709, pp. 65-7.

^p Ib. 41.

^q Hallam, M. A. ii. 74-8; Lappenberg, tr. ii. 65-7.

^r Asser, in Stevenson, ii. 479.

^s Ib. 472.

tion;^t his exertions for the restoration of learning among the clergy, which had fallen into melancholy decay, and for the general instruction of the people;^u his encouragement of learned men, whether natives,—as his biographer Asser,^x Plegmund, Werfrith, and Neot;—or foreigners whom he invited to impart to the English a culture which was not to be found at home—as Grimbald of Rheims, and John of Old Saxony;^y his care to enrich the vernacular literature by executing or encouraging versions and paraphrases of religious and instructive works—portions of Scripture, writings of Boëthius, Gregory the Great, Orosius, and Bede.^z It shows us that these labours were carried on under the continual tortures of disease,^a and amidst the necessities of providing for the national defence; it dwells on his habits of devotion, and on the comprehensive interest in the affairs of Christendom which induced him even to send a mission to the shrine of St. Thomas in India.^b Small as his kingdom was, he raised it to a high place among the nations; and among great sovereigns no character shines brighter or purer than his. Alfred died in 900 or 901.^c

III. The conversion of Bulgaria, which has been related in the history of the dissensions between the Greek and Latin churches, led to that of the Slavonic inhabitants of Greece and of the Mainotes.^d The Croats were evangelised by missionaries from Rome; while the victories of Basil, about the year 870, were followed by the labours of Greek missionaries in Servia.^e

Christianity had been introduced into Moravia by the arms of Charlemagne, who in 801, according to his usual system, compelled the king to receive baptism.^f Since that time, attempts had been made to extend the knowledge of the Gospel among the Moravians under the auspices of the archbishops of Salzburg and the bishops of Passau, who employed a regionary bishop for the purpose. But these attempts had little effect; the princes of the country had relapsed into heathenism, the Christians were few, and their

^t Asser, 450, 471.

^u Turner, ii. 114.

^x Against some doubts which have been raised as to Asser, see Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 420; Pauli, König Aelfred, 4-14.

^y This learned man has been confounded by many writers with John Scotus. See above, p. 294.

^z See Milman, ii. 443. For his additions to Boëthius, see Turner, ii. 22.

Orosius has also important additions. See the edition of Alfred lately published by Dr. Bosworth and others.

^a Asser in Stevenson, ii. 462.

^b Chron. Saxon. A.D. 883; Turner, ii. 145; Lappenberg, tr. i. 71.

^c Spelman, 216.

^d Gieseler, II. i. 399.

^e Hardwick, 135-6.

^f Schröckh, xxi. 406.

religion was very rude.^g A new and more effectual movement arose out of an embassy which Radislav, king of Moravia, sent into Bulgaria, for the purpose of obtaining aid against Louis of Germany. His nephew Swatopluk or Zwentibold, who was employed on this mission, became a convert to the new faith of the Bulgarians; and on his return he was joined by the queen, who was herself a Christian, in urging it on her husband's attention.^h An application for Christian teachers was made to the emperor Michael; and two missionaries, Constantine and his brother Methodius—perhaps the same whose skill as an artist had produced so great an effect at the Bulgarian courtⁱ—were sent from Constantinople into Moravia.

Constantine, who was afterwards better known under the name of Cyril, was a priest and monk, and is designated as a philosopher. He was a native of Thessalonica, and, from the mixture of the Greek and Slave populations in his own country, had probably from his early years been acquainted with a dialect of the Slavonic.^k He had laboured among the Chazars of the Ukraine and the Crimea, who in 843 had applied for instructors from Constantinople, on the ground that they were distracted between the rival pretensions of Judaism, Mahometanism, and Christianity^m—a mixture of religions which was found in the same region by a Musulman traveller seventy years later.ⁿ Cyril and Methodius proceeded into Moravia in 862, taking with them a body supposed to be that of St. Clement of Rome, who was said to have been banished by Trajan to the Chersonese, and to have been there martyred.^o Their preaching was marked by a striking difference from the ordinary practice of the time—that, whereas the Greek and Latin missionaries usually introduced their own tongues as the ecclesiastical language among barbarian nations, Cyril and Methodius mastered the language of the country, and not only used it in their addresses to the people, but translated the liturgy and the Scriptures into it—Cyril, after the example of Ulphilas, having either invented a Slavonic alphabet, or improved that which before existed.^p The innovation was very successful. The

^g Döllinger, i. 330-2; Gieseler, II. i. 350-1; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 449.

^h Schröckh, xxi. 409.

ⁱ See Neander, v. 423.

^k Palacky, Geschichte Böhmens, i. 119.

^m Schröckh, xxi. 400-1. It was in

848 that Cyril went on his mission.

ⁿ Gfrörer, Karolinger, i. 452.

^o Schröckh, xxi. 410; Gieseler, II. i. 353-4. See Tillemont, ii. 161.

^p Palacky says that the translations were in the Macedonian dialect of the Slavonic (i. 45). As to the alphabet,

Moravians were rapidly converted, churches were built, and the reverence in which the missionaries were held appears from the fact that the clergy were styled by a name which signifies *princes*.

After a time, a report of these proceedings reached pope Nicolas, who thereupon summoned Cyril and Methodius to appear before him. The Moravians were now more closely connected with the west than with the east; the churches of Rome and Constantinople were at variance, while Cyril, as an old opponent of Photius, was not inclined to side with the patriarch; and a refusal of compliance would have thrown the pope on the side of the Germans, from whom Radislav was in imminent danger.¹ The brethren, therefore, resolved to continue their work under such conditions as were possible, rather than to abandon it, and obeyed the summons to Rome, where they arrived shortly after the death of Nicolas. The body of St. Clement produced a great sensation among the Romans,² and the orthodoxy of the missionaries was proved to the satisfaction of Adrian, who in 868 consecrated Methodius as archbishop of the Moravians. Cyril appears to have died at Rome.³

Radislav, after a struggle of many years against Louis of Germany, was at length betrayed by his nephew Swatopluk into the hands of his enemy, by whom he was dethroned and blinded in 870.⁴ Swatopluk succeeded to the crown, and greatly extended the bounds of the Moravian kingdom, which now included a large portion of modern Austria and Hungary.⁵ Over all this territory Methodius exercised authority; after some differences with Swatopluk, whom it is said that he once found it necessary to excommunicate;⁶ and, as his sphere extended, many Christians who had received the Gospel from the Latin church placed themselves under him. This

there has been much contention between Slavonic writers, who maintain that the other alphabet of their language, known by the name of *glagolitic*, was as old as St. Jerome's time—and Germans, who say that it was derived from that of Cyril (see Schröckh, xxi. 411-3; Gieseler, II. i. 353; Schleicher's *Formenlehre der Kirchenslawischen Sprache*, Bonn, 1852, p. 31-2). Krasinski refers to Kopitar as having shown that the Glagolitic alphabet is at least as old as Cyril's (*Lectures on the Religious Hist. of the Slavonic Nations*, p. 23, Edinb. 1849). The Glagolitic has long been disused; that of Cyril (based, according to Schafarik, ii. 473, on the Greek, with additions in part derived from the Armenian and other Oriental characters) has, since the sixteenth century, been

superseded in Moravia by the Roman; but it is still used in Servia and Bulgaria, and from it the Russian alphabet is chiefly formed (see Schröckh and Gieseler, as above). For the references to Schafarik and Schleicher, I am indebted to my friend Dr. Rost, professor of Sanscrit in St. Augustine's College.

¹ Neander, v. 434; Gieseler, I. ii. 353; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 454.

² Leo Ostiens. ap. Baron. 867. 132.

³ Schröckh, xxi. 417; Gieseler, II. i. 353. On the contradictions between the biographers of Cyril and Methodius, see Schröckh, xxi. 415-6.

⁴ Palacky, i. 127-130.

⁵ Schröckh, xxi. 418.

⁶ Ib. 417.

excited the jealousy of the Germans, and in 879 the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishop of Passau accused him to John VIII. of teaching erroneous doctrines, and of employing a barbaric tongue in the service of the church. The pope cited him to Rome, and in his letter forbade the use of the Slavonic in the liturgy, although he allowed that until further order it might be used in preaching, forasmuch as the Psalmist charges all people to praise the Lord, and that St. Paul says "Let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord."^y

Methodius repaired to Rome, where he succeeded in justifying his orthodoxy—perhaps not without some concession as to the points of difference between his native church and that of the west. And his arguments in favour of the Slavonic tongue were so successful that, on returning to Moravia, he bore a letter^z from John to Swatopluk, in which the pope approves of the alphabet invented by Cyril,^a and sanctions the use of the Slavonic liturgy, on the ground that the scriptural command, "Praise the Lord all ye nations," shows that His praises are not to be confined to three languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin), but that He who formed these languages also formed all others, for His own glory. But it is ordered that, as a mark of greater honour, the Gospel shall first be read in Latin, and then in the vernacular, and also that the king or any nobleman may, if he think fit, have the service of his private chapel in Latin.^b

In the same letter it was stated that Methodius was confirmed in his archbishoprick, with exclusive jurisdiction over the Moravian church. The pope adds that he has consecrated Wiching to the episcopate, and begs Swatopluk to send another presbyter who may be raised to the same degree, in order that the archbishop, having two bishops under him, may be able to perform his functions without external help. Thus the Moravian church was to be rendered independent of Germany.^c

^y Ep. 90, ap. Hard, vi. That the question of language had not occurred under Nicolas or Adrian, see Schröckh, xxi. 416.

^z Ep. 107.

^a "A Constantino quodam philosopho" (col. 86, d). It has been argued that John could not have spoken so vaguely of Constantine if he had supposed him to have been the brother of Methodius, and to have died at Rome not many years before (Neander, v. 438). But Pagi (xv. 370) and Gieseler (II. i. 356) conjecture *quendam*.

^b Col. 87. Some Roman Catholic writers have argued that the sanction of the vernacular in this case was given merely out of special regard for Cyril and Methodius (see Schröckh, xxi. 420). But the grounds on which it is rested are quite general. "Il y a," says Rohrbacher, "des hommes qui pensent que si le pape Jean VIII. avait tenu plus ferme à l'usage du Latin dans la liturgie sacrée, il aurait rendu moins facile le schisme et la perversion des nations Slavonnes." xii. 354.

^c Col. 86; Gröner, Karol. ii. 238.

From Moravia the Gospel was introduced among the neighbouring and kindred people of Bohemia. Fourteen Bohemian chiefs had appeared before Louis of Germany at Ratisbon in 844, and had been baptised by their own desire.^d But of this conversion, which was most likely a mere political artifice, no effects are recorded; and Bohemia was heathen many years later, when the duke, Borziwoi, visited the Moravian court.^e Swatopluk received him with honour, but at dinner assigned him and his followers a place on the floor as being heathens.^f Methodius, who sat at the king's table, addressed Borziwoi, expressing regret that so powerful a prince should be obliged to feed like a swineherd. The duke asked what he might expect to gain by becoming a Christian; and, on being told that the change would exalt him above all kings and princes, he was baptised with his thirty companions.^g His wife, Ludmilla, embraced the Gospel on worthier motives, and earned the title of saint.^h

Methodius continued to be much annoyed by the Germans, who saw in the sanction of the Slavonic tongue an insuperable barrier against their influence in Moravia. It would seem also that Swatopluk became unfavourable to him, and that Wiching, who was a German by birth, and a man of intriguing character, instead of co-operating with the archbishop, set up claims to independence of all but the pope's authority.ⁱ The last certain notice of Methodius is a letter in which John VIII. encourages him, and assures him that he had given no such privileges as were pretended to Wiching (whose name, however, is not mentioned).^k The death of Methodius has been said to have taken place at Rome, and has been variously dated, from 881 to 910; but it seems more probable that he died in Moravia about the year 885.^l

Wiching, after the death of Methodius, persecuted the adherents of the Slavonic liturgy. He afterwards went over to Arnulph of Germany, and received from him the bishoprick of Passau, but was eventually deposed.^m In 900 the German jealousy was provoked anew by the measures which pope John IX. took for providing

^d Palacky, i. 110.

^e This is placed in 894 by Assemani (quoted by Schröckh, xxi. 429), ed. Pagi (xiv. 474); in 871, by Gieseler (II. i. 360), Palacky and Pertz (i. 39).

^f See p. 131, for Ingo's treatment of heathens.

^g Vit. SS. Cyrill. et Method. ap. Pagi, xv. 474. Palacky denies the truth of the story, i. 137.

^h Milman, ii. 428.

ⁱ Gieseler, I. ii. 239; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 239.

^k Neander, v. 431. The letter is not in Hardouin. Jaffé dates it March 23, 881.

^l Schröckh, xxi. 422; Gieseler, II. i. 357; Palacky, i. 129.

^m Palacky, i. 150.

Moravia with a localised hierarchy instead of its former missionary establishment. Hatto, archbishop of Mentz, and Theotmar of Salzburg, with their suffragans, loudly remonstrated against the change;^o but the strife was ended by the fall of the Moravian kingdom in 908.^p

IV. The conquests of Charlemagne had brought the Franks into close neighbourhood with the northern nations, which were now so formidable to the more civilised inhabitants of other countries. Charlemagne, it is said, refrained from placing his territory north of the Elbe under any of the bishoprics which he erected, because he intended to establish in those parts an archiepiscopal see which should serve as a centre for the evangelisation of the north. He built a church at Hamburg, and committed it to a priest who was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction;^q but the prosecution of the scheme was broken off by the emperor's death. The attention of his son, however, was soon drawn by other circumstances towards Nordalbingia. Policy, as well as religion, recommended the conversion of the Northmen; for, so long as the Saxons were only separated by the Elbe from those who adhered to the religion of their forefathers, there was a continual temptation for them to renounce the Christianity which had been forced on them, and with it the subjection of which it was the token.^r

Disputes as to the throne of Denmark between Harold and Godfrid led both parties to seek the countenance of Louis the Pious. He was struck with the importance of using this circumstance as an opening for the introduction of Christianity among the Danes; and Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, was willing to withdraw for a time from the enjoyment of his dignity, that he might extend the faith among these barbarians.^s With the emperor's consent Ebbo went to Rome, where he obtained a commission from Paschal, authorising himself and Halitgar, afterwards bishop of Cambrai, to preach the Gospel to the northern nations, and directing them to refer all difficult questions to the apostolic see.^t The mission was resolved on by the diet of Attigny in 822; and in that year Ebbo and his companions set out in company with some ambassadors of Harold,^u Welanao (now Münsehdorf, near Itzehoe)

^o Hard. vi. 482-6.

^p Schröckh, xxi. 421; Gieseler, II. i.

357.

^q Rimbert, Vita S. Anskarii, 12, ap.

Pertz, ii.; Adam Bremens. i. 15, 17, ib. vii.

^r Münter, i. 239.

^s Ermold. Nigell. ap. Pertz, ii. 502-3.

^t Rimbert, 13. The bull is given in the original by Münter, i. 244.

^u Münter, i. 248.

being assigned by the emperor for their head-quarters.^x Little is known of their proceedings, but it appears that they preached with much success,^y and that Ebbo represented the spiritual and the temporal benefits of Christianity to Harold so effectually as to induce him to appear in 826 at Ingelheim, with his queen and a large train of attendants, and to express a desire for baptism, which they received in the church of St. Alban at Mentz. Louis was sponsor for Harold, Judith for the queen, Lothair for their son, and the members of their train found sponsors of suitable rank among the Franks.^z The emperor now resolved to send a fresh mission to the Danes; but the barbarism of the Northmen, their strong hostility to Christianity, and the savage character of their paganism, with its sacrifices of human victims, deterred all from venturing on the hazards of such an expedition, until Wala of Corbie named Anskar, one of his monks, as a person fit for the work.^a

Anskar, "the Apostle of the North," was born about the year 801. At an early age he became a pupil in the monastery of Corbie, where he studied under Adelhard and Paschasius Radbert. He became himself a teacher in the monastery, and, after having for a time held a like office in the German Corbey, resumed his office in the parent society.^b From childhood he had been remarkable for a devout and enthusiastic character. He had visions, and it is said by his biographer that all the important events of his life were foreshown to him either in this manner or by an inward illumination, so that he even waited for such direction as to the course which he should take.^c The death of his mother, when he was five years old, affected him deeply, and he was weaned from the love of childish sports by a vision in which she appeared in company with some bright female forms. He felt

^x Rimbart, 13.

^y Münter, i. 256-8.

^z Astron. 40; Einhard. Ann. 826; Thegan, 33; Ermold. Nigell. ap. Pertz, ii. 598. For Ermold's embellishments and inaccuracies, see Dahlmann, Gesch. v. Dänemarck, i. 29. In illustration of the motives by which such converts were often actuated, the monk of St. Gall relates that on one occasion, when the unusual number of candidates for baptism had exhausted the supply of the ordinary baptismal garments, a Northman neophyte openly expressed to Louis his indignation at receiving one of coarser materials. "I have been

washed here twenty times already," he said, "and always got dresses of the best and whitest stuff; but such a sack as this is fit for a swineherd, not for a warrior; and were it not for the shame of going naked, I would leave your dress and your Christ together." L. ii. c. 19, Pertz, ii. 762.

^a The Life of St. Anskar, by his pupil and successor Rimbart and another, is in Mabillon, vi. and in Pertz, ii.

^b Rimbart, 6; Dahlmann, n. on c. 7.

^c C. 36. It may be remarked that in the recorded visions there is nothing of what would usually be considered a supernatural kind.

himself entangled in mire, and unable to reach them, when the chief of the band, whom he knew to be the Blessed Virgin, asked him whether he wished to rejoin his mother; and told him that, if so, he must forsake such vanities as are offensive to the saints.^d His worldly affections were afterwards further subdued by the tidings of Charlemagne's death, which deeply impressed on him the instability of all earthly greatness.^e In another vision, he fancied that his spirit was led out of the body by two venerable persons, whom he knew to be St. Peter and St. John. They first plunged him into purgatory, where he remained for three days in misery which seemed to last a thousand years. He was then conducted into a region where the Saviour's glory, displayed in the east, streamed forth on multitudes of adoring saints in transcendent brightness, which was yet not dazzling but delightful to the eye; and from the source of inaccessible majesty, in which he could discern no shape, he heard a voice of blended power and sweetness—"Go, and thou shalt return to me with the crown of martyrdom."^f At a later time, the Saviour appeared to him, exhorted him to a full confession of his sins, and assured him that they were forgiven.^g The assurance was afterwards repeated to him, and in answer to his inquiry "Lord, what wouldest thou have me to do?" he was told "Go and preach to the nations the word of God."^h

When the northern mission was proposed to Anskar, he at once declared his readiness to undertake it. He adhered to his resolution, although many endeavoured to dissuade him, while Wala disclaimed the intention of enforcing the task on him by his monastic obedience; and his behaviour while preparing himself for the work by retirement and devotion had such an effect on Autbert, a monk of noble birth and steward of the monastery, that he offered himself as a companion.ⁱ

The missionaries could not prevail on any servant to attend them. On joining Harold they were treated with neglect by him and his companions, who, as Anskar's biographer says,^k did not yet know how the servants of God ought to be honoured. But when they had sailed down the Rhine as far as Cologne, the bishop of that city, Hadebold, out of compassion bestowed on them a vessel with two cabins, and, as Harold found it convenient to take possession of one of these, he was brought into closer intercourse with the missionaries, who soon succeeded in inspiring him with a

^d Rimbert, 2.^e Ib. 3.^h Ib. 9.ⁱ Ib. 7.^f Ib.^g Ib. 4.^k C. 8.

new interest in their undertaking. They fixed the centre of their operations at Hadeby, on the opposite bank of the Schley to Sleswick,^m and laboured among both the Christians and the heathens of the Danish border. Anskar established a school for boys—the pupils being partly given to him, and partly bought for the purpose of training them up in the Christian faith.ⁿ But Harold had offended many of his adherents by doing homage to Louis and by his change of religion; they were further alienated when, in his zeal for the advancement of his new faith, he destroyed temples and even resorted to persecution; and the opposite party took advantage of the feeling. Harold was expelled, and retired to a county in Frisia which the emperor had bestowed on him; and Anskar was obliged to leave Hadeby. Autbert had already been compelled by severe illness to relinquish the mission, and died at Corbie in 829.^o A.D. 828-9.

A new opening soon presented itself to Anskar. It would appear that some knowledge of the Gospel had already reached Sweden—partly, it is said, by means of intercourse which the inhabitants of that remote country had carried on with the Byzantine empire.^p In 829 ambassadors from Sweden appeared at the court of Louis, who, in addition to their secular business, stated that their countrymen were favourably disposed towards Christianity, and requested the emperor to supply them with teachers. Louis bethought himself of Anskar, who agreed to undertake the work—regarding it as a fulfilment of his visions. His place with Harold was supplied by another; and Wala assigned him a monk named Witmar as a companion. The vessel in which the missionaries embarked was attacked by pirates, who plundered them of almost everything, including the presents designed by Louis for the Swedish king. But they were determined to persevere, and, after many hardships, made their way to the northern capital, Birka or Sigtuna, on the lake Mälär.^q The king, Biorn, received them graciously, and, with the consent of the national assembly, gave them permission to preach freely. Their ministrations were welcomed with delight by a number of Christian captives, who had long been deprived of the offices of religion; and among their converts was Herigar, governor of the district, who built a church on his estate.^r After having laboured for a year and a half,

^m See Bosworth, note in Alfred's Works, ii. 47-8. afterwards apostatised. Dahlmann, i. 44.

ⁿ Münter, i. 276.

^o Rimbert, 8; Münter, i. 261. Harold

^p Schröckh, xxi. 320.

^q Rimbert, 10; Münter, i. 279.

^r Rimbert, 11.

Anskar and his companion returned with a letter from Biorn to Louis, who was greatly pleased with their success, and resolved to place the northern mission on a new footing, agreeably to his father's intentions. An archiepiscopal see was to be established at Hamburg, and Anskar was consecrated to the office at Ingelheim by Drogo of Metz, with the assistance of Ebbo and many other bishops.⁶ He then repaired to Rome, where Gregory IV. bestowed on him the pall, with a bull authorising him to labour for the conversion of the northern nations, in conjunction with Ebbo, whose commission from Paschal was still in force.⁷ Louis conferred on him the monastery of Turholt (Thoroult, between Bruges and Ypres), to serve at once as a source of maintenance and as a resting-place more secure than the northern archbishoprick.⁸

Ebbo, although diverted from missionary work by his other (and in part far less creditable) occupations, had continued to take an interest in the conversion of the north, and appears at this time to have made a second expedition to the scene of his old labours.⁹ But as neither he nor Anskar could give undivided attention to the Swedish mission, it was now agreed that this should be committed to a relation of Ebbo named Gauzbert, who was consecrated to the episcopate and assumed the name of Simou. To him Ebbo transferred the settlement at Welandao, with the intention that it should serve the same purposes for which Turholt had been given to Anskar.¹⁰

Anskar entered with his usual zeal on the new sphere which had been assigned to him. He built at Hamburg a church, a monastery, and a college. According to the system which he had followed at Hadeby, he bought a number of boys with a view to educating them as Christians; some of them were sent to Turholt, while others remained with him.¹¹ But after a time¹² Hamburg was attacked by a great force of Northmen, under Eric, king of Jutland. The archbishop exerted himself in encouraging the inhabitants to hold out until relief should arrive, but the assailants

⁶ Rimbert, 12.

⁷ The existing document (which is given in Münter's Appendix) includes as part of Anskar's jurisdiction Iceland and Greenland—the latter country then undiscovered, the former known only to the Irish (see Dahlmann, n. on Rimb. c. 13). Hence the bull is interpolated, if not a forgery. See Dahlm. loc. cit.; Münter, i. 282; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 124.

⁸ Rimbert, 12.

⁹ Schröckh, xxi. 324-5.

¹⁰ Rimbert, 14.

¹¹ Rimbert, 15; Münter, i. 290.

¹² Dahlmann (n. on Rimbert, c. 17) places this in 837; Gfrörer (Karol. i. 125-6), in 842; Schröckh (xxi. 325), Münter (i. 293), and Neander (v. 332), in 845.

were too strong to be long resisted. The city was sacked and burnt, and Anskar was obliged to flee. He had lost his church, his monastery, and his library, among the treasures of which was a magnificent bible,^b the gift of the emperor; some relics bestowed on his church by Ebbo were all that he was able to rescue. But, reduced as he was to necessity, he repeated Job's words of resignation—"The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!" Leutbert bishop of Bremen, who had before looked on the new archbishoprick with jealousy, refused to entertain him, and he was indebted for a refuge to the charity of a widow named Ikia, of Ramsloh, where he gradually collected some of his scattered followers.^c About the same time Gauzbert was expelled from Sweden by a popular rising, in which his nephew Notbert was killed.^d

To add to Anskar's distress, his monastery of Turholt, being within that portion of the empire which fell to Charles the Bald on the death of Louis, was bestowed by the new sovereign on a layman.^e His monks, finding no means of subsistence, were obliged to leave him;^f but he found a patron in Louis of Germany, who founded a monastic establishment for him at Ramsloh, and resolved to bestow on him the bishoprick of Bremen, vacant by the death of Leutbert.^g Anskar was himself unwilling to take any active part in the matter, lest he should be exposed to charges of rapacity,^h and some canonical objections arose; but these were overcome with the consent of the bishops who were interested. The union of the dioceses was sanctioned by the council of Mentz (the same at which Gottschalek was condemned) in 848; and, ten years after it had virtually taken effect, it was confirmed in 858 by Nicolas I., who renewed the gift of the pall to Anskar, and appointed him legate for the evangelisation of the Swedes, the Danes, the Slavons, and other nations of the north.ⁱ

In the mean time Anskar had been actively employed. Repeated political missions from Louis of Germany had made him known to the Danish king Horic or Eric, who had long been one of the

^b "Bibliotheca." For this sense of the word, see Maitland, Dark Ages.

^c Rimbert, 16; Münter, i. 299.

^d Rimbert, 17.

^e Dahlmann, not. in Rimb. ap. Pertz.

^f Ib. 21.

^g Dahlmann (on Rimb. 22) places this in 847; Gfögger (Karol. i. 149) in 845-6; Mabillon (ci. 95) in 849.

^h Rimbert, 22.

ⁱ Rimbert, 23; Münter, i. 303; Kunstmann's *Herabaus' Maurus*, 118. This was the first commission in which absolute obedience to papal decrees was required (Hardwick, 152). Mansi (in *Bavon*, xiv. 489) and Jaffé (245) date it in 864.

most formidable chiefs of the northern devastators, and had led the force which burnt and plundered Hamburg. Anskar gained a powerful influence over the king, who, although it does not appear that he was himself baptised, granted the missionaries permission to preach throughout his dominions, and to build a church at Sleswick.^k The work of conversion went on rapidly. Many traders who had received baptism at Hamburg or Dorstadt now openly professed Christianity, and Christian merchants from other countries ventured more freely into Denmark, so that Eric found the wealth of his kingdom increased by the toleration which he had granted. Many of the converts, however, put off their baptism until they felt the approach of death; while it is said that some heathens, after their life had been despaired of, and after they had invoked their own gods in vain, on entreating the aid of Christ were restored to perfect health.^m

After the withdrawal of Gauzbert, Sweden remained for seven years without any Christian teacher, until Anskar sent into the country a priest and hermit named Ardgar, who preached with great effect—his efforts being powerfully seconded by the impression produced by judgments which befell all who had been concerned in the expulsion of Gauzbert.ⁿ Herigar had throughout remained faithful, notwithstanding all that he had to endure from his unbelieving countrymen, and on his deathbed he was comforted by the ministrations of Ardgar.^o But Ardgar longed to return to his hermitage, and after a time relinquished the mission.^p Gauzbert, now bishop of Osnaburg, whom Anskar requested to resume his labours in Sweden, declined on the ground that another would be more likely to make a favourable impression on the people who had ejected him. Anskar himself, therefore, resolved to undertake the work—being encouraged by a vision in which his old superior Adelhard appeared to him.^q He was accompanied by envoys from Eric to Olof, of Sweden, and bore a letter of warm recommendation from the Danish king. But on landing in Sweden he found the state of things very unpromising. A short time before this a Swede had arisen in the national assembly, declaring that he was charged with a communication from the gods, who had bidden him tell his countrymen that, if they wished to enjoy a continuance of prosperity, they must revive with increased zeal the ancient worship, and must exclude all other religions. “If,” the

^k Rimbert, 24; Schröckh, xxi. 328-333.

^m Rimbert, 24.

ⁿ Ib. 17, 19.

^p Ib. 20.

^o Ib. 19.

^q Ib. 25.

celestial message graciously concluded, "you are not content with us, and wish to have more gods, we all agree to admit your late king Eric into our number." A great effect had followed on this; a temple had been built to Eric and was crowded with worshippers; and such was the excitement of the people that Anskar's friends advised him to desist from his enterprise, as it could not but be fruitless and might probably cost him his life. But he was resolved to persevere. He invited the king to dine with him, and, having propitiated him by gifts, requested permission to preach. Olof replied that, as some former preachers of Christianity had been forcibly driven out of the country, he could not give it without consulting the gods and obtaining the sanction of the popular assembly; "for," says Anskar's biographer, "in that nation public affairs are determined less by the king's power than by the general consent of the people."^r A lot was cast in an open field, and was favourable to the admission of the Christian teachers. The assembly was swayed by the speech of an aged member, who said that the power of the Christians' God had often been experienced, especially in dangers at sea; that many of his countrymen had formerly been baptised at Dorstadt; why then, he asked, should they refuse, now that it was brought to their own doors, that which they had before sought from a distance? The assembly of another district also decided for the admission of Christianity; and the feeling in favour of the new religion was strengthened by miracles performed on an expedition which Olof undertook to Courland. Converts flocked in, churches were built, and Anskar returned to Denmark, leaving Gumbert, a nephew of Gauzbert, at the head of the Swedish mission.^t

During the archbishop's absence, Eric had fallen in a bloody battle with a pagan faction, which had made his encouragement of Christianity a pretext for attacking him. The most powerful of Anskar's other friends had shared the fate of their king; the greater part of Denmark was now in the hands of the enemy; and Eric II., who had succeeded to a part of his father's territory, was under the influence of Hovi, earl of Jutland, who persuaded him that all the late misfortunes were due to the abandonment of the old national religion. The church at Sleswick was shut up, its priest was expelled, and the Christians were cruelly persecuted.^u

^r Rimbert, 26. Cf. *Ad. Brem. Deser.*

^s *Insul. Aquil.* c. 22. *ap. Pertz*, vii.

^t *Ib.* 27.

^u *Ib.* 28, 30.

^v *Ib.* 31; *Münter*, i. 310-1.

Anskar could only betake himself to prayer for a change from this unhappy state of things, when he unexpectedly received a letter from the young king, professing as warm an interest in the Gospel as that which his father had felt, and inviting the missionaries to resume their labours. Hovi had fallen into disgrace, and was banished. The progress of Christianity was now more rapid than ever. The church at Sleswick was for the first time allowed to have a bell. Another church was founded at Ripe, the second city of Denmark, on the coast opposite to Britain, and Rimbert, a native of the neighbourhood of Turholt, who had grown up under Anskar's tuition, was appointed its pastor.^x

Anskar's labours were continued until the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his episcopate. The progress of the Swedish mission was retarded by the death or the withdrawal of some who were employed in it, but he was able to provide for its continuance, chiefly by means of clergy of Danish birth, whom he had trained up in the seminary at Ramsloh.^y Amidst his trials and disappointments he frequently consoled himself by remembering the assurance which Ebbo, when bishop of Hildesheim, had expressed to him, that God would not fail in His own time to crown the work with success.^z The biographer Rimbert dwells with delight on his master's strict adherence to the monastic customs, which he maintained to the last; on his mortifications, which he carried to an extreme in youth, until he became aware that such excesses were a temptation to vainglory, and how, when no longer able to bear them, he endeavoured to supply the defect by alms and prayers; on his frequent and fervent devotion; on his charitable labours, building of hospitals, redemption of captives, and other works of mercy.^a Among the results of his exertions, it deserves to be remembered that in 856 he persuaded the leading men of Nordalbingia to give up the trade which they had carried on in slaves.^b He wrote, in addition to much of a devotional kind, a life of Willehad, the first bishop of Bremen,^c and a journal of his own missions, which is known to have been sent to Rome in the thirteenth century, and, although often sought for in vain, may possibly still exist there.^d He is said to have performed some miraculous cures, but to have shunned the publication of them, except among his most intimate friends; and when they were once

^x Rimbert, 32; Münter, i. 313-4.

^y Rimbert, 33.

^z *Ib.* 34.

^a *C.* 35.

^b Münter, i. 315.

^c Printed in Pertz, ii.

^d Münter, i. 319.

spoken of in his hearing, he exclaimed, "If I were worthy in the sight of my Lord, I would ask Him to grant me one miracle—that he would make me a good man!"^e

In his last illness Anskar was greatly distressed by the apprehension that his sins had frustrated the promise which had been made to him of the martyr's crown. Rimbert endeavoured to comfort him by saying that violent death is not the only kind of martyrdom; by reminding him of his long and severe labours for the Gospel, and of the patience with which he had endured much sickness—especially the protracted sufferings of his deathbed. At length, as he was at mass, the archbishop, although fully awake, had a vision in which he was reproved for having doubted, and was assured that all that had been promised should be fulfilled. His death took place on the festival of the Purification, in the year 865.^f

When asked to name a successor, Anskar declined to do so, on the ground that he was unwilling to add to the offence which he might probably have given to many during his lifetime. But on being questioned as to his opinion of Rimbert, he answered—"I am assured that he is more worthy to be an archbishop than I to be a subdeacon."^g To Rimbert, therefore, the see of Hamburg was committed on Anskar's death, and for nearly a quarter of a century he carried on the work in the spirit of his master, for the knowledge of whose life we are chiefly indebted to his reverential and affectionate biography. Rimbert died in 888.^h

^e Vita, 39.

^g Vita S. Rimberti, c. 1^a, ap. Pertz, ii.

^f Ib. 40-1.

^h Münter, i. 314.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT TO THE DEATH OF
POPE SYLVESTER II.

A.D. 887-1003.

WE now for the first time meet with a long period—including the whole of the tenth century—undisturbed by theological controversy. But we must not on this account suppose that it was an era of prosperity or happiness for the church. Never, perhaps, was there a time of greater misery for most of the European nations; never was there one so sad and so discreditable for religion. The immediate necessities which pressed on men diverted their minds from study and speculation. The clergy in general sank into the grossest ignorance and disorder;^a the papacy was disgraced by infamies of which there had been no example in former days.

Soon after the beginning of this period the Greek church was disturbed by a question which also tended to increase its differences with Rome. Leo the Philosopher, the pupil of Photius, after having had three wives who had left him without offspring, married Zoe, with whom he had for some time cohabited. According to the Greek historians,^b the union was celebrated by one of the imperial chaplains, before the birth of a child; and, when
A.D. 905. Leo had become father of an heir, he raised Zoe to the rank of empress. Even second marriages had been discountenanced by the church; a fourth marriage was hitherto unknown in the east. The patriarch Nicolas deposed the priest who had blessed the nuptials; he refused to admit the imperial pair into the church, so that they were obliged to perform their devotions elsewhere; and he refused to administer the Eucharist to Leo, who thereupon banished him to the island of Hiercia.^c The account given by the patriarch himself is somewhat different—that the son of Leo and Zoe was born before their marriage; that he consented to baptise the child only on condition of a separation between the parents; that Leo swore to comply, but within three days after introduced Zoe to the palace with great pomp, went through the ceremony of

^a Hist. Litt. vi. 2; Gieseler, II. i. 264.

^b Cedren. c00.

^c See Cedrenus, c01-2, and the other writers quoted by Baronius, 901. 2, seqq. and by Pagi in his notes.

marriage without the intervention of any priest, and followed it up by the coronation of his wife. Nicolas adds that he entreated the emperor to consent to a separation until the other chief sees should be consulted, but that some legates from the Roman see, who soon after arrived at Constantinople, countenanced the marriage, and that thus Leo was emboldened to deprive and to banish him.^d Euthymius, who was raised to the patriarchate, restored the emperor to communion, but resisted his wish to obtain a general sanction of fourth marriages, although it was supported by many persons of consideration.^e On the death of Leo, his brother Alexander not only restored Nicolas, but gave him ^{A.D. 911.} an important share in the government, while Euthymius on his deposition was treated with barbarous outrage by the clergy of the opposite party, and soon after died.^f Alexander himself died within a year, when Zoe became powerful in the regency, and urged her son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus,^g to insist on the recognition of her marriage.^h But she was shut up in a convent by Romanus Lecapenus, who assumed the government as the colleague of Constantine, and in 920 the rival parties in the church were reconciled. An edict was published by which for the future third marriages were allowed on certain conditions, but such unions as that of which the emperor himself was the offspring were prohibited on pain of excommunication.ⁱ At Rome, however, fourth marriages were allowed, and on this account an additional coolness arose between the churches, so that for a time the names of the popes appear to have been omitted from the diptychs of Constantinople.^k

The Greek church continued to rest on the doctrines and practices established by the councils of former times. The worship of images was undisturbed. The empire underwent frequent revolutions, marked by the perfidy, the cruelty, the ambition regardless of the ties of nature, with which its history has already made us too familiar;^m but the only events which need be here mentioned are the victories gained over the Saracens by Nicephorus Phocas (A.D. 963-969) and his murderer and successor John Tzimisce (A.D. 969-976). By these princes Crete and Cyprus were recovered, and the arms of the Greeks were carried even as

^d Nic. Ep. ad Anastas. Roman. A.D. 912, ap. Baron. 912. 6. Mr. Finlay follows this account, ii. 312.

^e *Ἐκλογίμων*. Cedren. 602.

^f *Ib.* 607.

^g This epithet seems inconsistent with

the statement that the prince was born before the marriage.

^h Cedren. 611.

ⁱ Cedrenus, 607; Pagi, xv. 602; Schröckh, xxi. 436; Gibbon, iv. 428-9.

^k Schröckh, xxii. 209.

^m See Gibbon, iv. c. 48.

far as Bagdad. And, although some of their triumphs had no lasting effect, the empire retained some recompense for its long and bloody warfare in the possession of Antioch, with Tarsus, Mopsuestia, and other cities in Cilicia.ⁿ

In the west, the age was full of complicated movements, which it is for the most part difficult to trace, and impossible to remember. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, the only representatives of the Carolingian line were illegitimate—Arnulph, a son of the Bavarian Carloman, and Charles, styled the Simple, the offspring of Louis the Stammerer by a marriage to which the church refused its sanction. Arnulph assumed the government of Germany, which he held from 887 to 899. He ruled with vigour, carried on successful wars with the Obotrites and other Slavonic nations of the north, and broke the terror of the Northmen by a great overthrow on the Dyle, near Louvain, in 891.^o He also weakened the power of the Moravians; but in order to this he called in the

aid of the Hungarians or Magyars, and opened a way
A.D. 892. into Germany to these formidable barbarians.^p No such savage enemy of Christendom had yet appeared.^q They were a people of Asiatic origin, whose language, of the same stock with the Finnish, bore no likeness to that of any civilised or Christian nation. The writers of the time, partly borrowing from the earlier descriptions of Attila's Huns,^r with whom the Magyars were fancifully connected, speak of them as monstrous and hardly human in form, as living after the manner of beasts, as eating human flesh, the heart being particularly esteemed as a delicacy. Light in figure and in accoutrements, and mounted on small active horses, they defied the pursuit of the Frankish cavalry, while even in retreat their showers of arrows were terrible.^s They had already established themselves in the territory on the Danube which for some centuries had been occupied by the Avars. They had threatened Constantinople, and had laid both the Eastern empire and the Bulgarians under contribution.^t They now passed into Germany in seemingly inexhaustible swarms, overran Thuringia and Franconia, and advanced as far as the Rhine. Almost at the same

ⁿ Gibbon, iv. 224-8.

^o Schmidt, i. 525-533; Luden, vi. 239.

^p Liutprand, Antapodosis, i. 13, ap. Pertz, iii.; Schmidt, i. 526; Luden disbelieves this (vi. 218); but see Palacky, i. 148.

^q Luden, vi. 298-9; Milman, ii. 444.

^r See Jornandes, c. 21, ap. Muratori, i. 203.

^s See Gibbon, v. 294-8; Schmidt, i. 526; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 25; Luden, vi. 295; Mailáth, i. 15.

^t Gibbon, v. 301.

moment the northern city of Bremen was sacked by one division of their forces, and the Swiss monastery of St. Gall by another. A swarm of them laid Provence desolate, and penetrated even to the Spanish frontier, although a sickness which broke out among them enabled Raymond, marquis of Gothia, to repel them.^a Crossing the Alps, they rushed down on Italy. Pavia, the Lombard capital, and then the second city of the peninsula, was given to the flames, with its forty-four churches, while the Magyars glutted their cruelty and love of plunder on the persons and on the property of the inhabitants.^x The invaders pene-
A.D. 921.
trated even to the extremity of Calabria, while the Italians, regarding them as a scourge of God, submitted without any other attempt at defence than the prayers with which their churches resounded for deliverance "from the arrows of the Hungarians."^y

The Saracens also continued to afflict Italy. A force of them from Africa established itself on the Garigliano (the ancient Liris), and from its fortified camp continually menaced Rome.^z In another quarter, a vessel, with about twenty Saracens from Spain, was carried out of its course by winds, and compelled to put to land near Fraxinetum.^a They fortified themselves against the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and, after having subsisted for a time on plunder, they invited others from Spain to join them, so that the handful of shipwrecked strangers was gradually recruited until it became a formidable band. They carried on their ravages far and wide, seized on pilgrims, stripped them of all that they had, and compelled those who were able to raise large sums by way of ransom.^b Some of them even crossed the Mons Jovis (now the Great St. Bernard) and established another settlement at St. Maurice.^c But the garrison of Fraxinetum was at length surrounded and exterminated by William duke of Aquitaine.^d

After the death of Arnulph, the Germans were broken up into five leading nations—the Franconians, the Saxons, the Swabians,

^a Liutprand, *Antapod.* ii. 15; Gibbon, v. 298-9; Sismondi, iii. 367; Mailáth, i. 9. and App. end. 2-4.

^x Flodoard, A.D. 924 ap. Pertz, iii.; Mailáth, i. 13.

^y Gibbon, v. 300-1; Mailáth, i. 17.

^z Liutprand, ii. 44; Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 243.

^a This place is generally identified with Frainet, near Préjus (Chron. Novaliciense, ap. Pertz, vii. 108; Pagi, xv. 608; Bouquet; Pertz, iii. 275). But some writers think that it was in the peninsula of S. Ospizio, near Nice.

See Gallenga's *Hist. of Piedmont*, Lond. 1855, i. 149. Spruner, in his second map of Italy, gives the name in both places, but distinguishes that near Nice as the Fraxinetum of the Saracens.

^b See the account of their taking Majolus, abbot of Cluny: Radulph. Glaber, I. i. A.D. 972, ap. Bouquet, x. Vita S. Majoli, ap. Mabill. vii. 778.

^c Liutprand, i. 2-4; ii. 43; v. 9, seqq.; Pagi, xv. 608; Sismondi, *Hist. des Fr.* iii. 415.

^d Rad. Glaber, I. i. A.D. 972; Pagi, xvi. 216.

the Bavarians, and the Lotharingians of the debateable land between France and Germany, which was sometimes attached to the one country and sometimes to the other—being either transferred by its inhabitants, or annexed by force or by intrigue. These nations were generally under the government of dukes;^e the fear of the Magyars and of the Slaves was the bond which united them in one common interest. Otho of Saxony was regarded as their leader; and on his death, in 912, they chose Conrad of Franconia as king of Germany. Conrad found Henry, duke of Saxony, his chief opponent; but on his deathbed, in 919, a desire to prevent discord among the Germans prevailed over all other feelings; he desired his brother Eberhard, who himself might fairly have claimed to succeed to the kingdom, to carry to Henry the ensigns of royalty—the holy lance, the crown and mantle, the golden bracelets and the sword.^f Henry “the Fowler,” so styled from the occupation in which he is said to have been engaged when the announcement of his intended dignity reached him, was on this chosen by the Franconians and Saxons, and the other nations accepted the choice. He reigned from 920 to 936, with a reputation seldom equalled for bravery, prudence, moderation, justice, and fidelity.^g He recovered Lotharingia for Germany, carried on successful wars against the northern Slaves and the Bohemians, took from the Northmen the country between the Eider and the Schley, and erected the marquisate of Sleswick as a bulwark for the security of Germany on that side.^h But still more important were his wars with the Hungarians. On an expedition, which was marked by their usual barbarous ravages, one of their chiefs—perhaps, as has been conjectured, the king himself—fell into the hands of Henry, who refused to release him except on condition

of peace, for which it was agreed that the Germans
A.D. 924. should pay gifts by way of annual acknowledgment.ⁱ

The peace was to last for nine years. Henry employed the time in preparations for war, and, on its expiration, returned a scornful defiance to an embassy of the Magyars. He twice defeated the

barbarians;^k and in 955 their power was finally broken
A.D. 933. by his son Otho the Great in a great battle near Augsburg.^m By this defeat the Hungarians lost that part of their ter-

^e Schmidt, i. 524; ii. 8-11.

^f Widukind, i. 25, ap. Pertz, iii.; Ekkehard, A.D. 918, ap. Bouquet, ix. 4; Luden, vi. 342.

^g Schmidt, ii. 25; Luden, vi. 365, 394.

^h Schmidt, ii. 23; Luden, vi. 358, 359, seqq.

ⁱ Widukind, i. 30, ap. Pertz, iii.; Luden, vi. 360, 617; Mailáth, i. 17.

^k Luden, vi. 387.

^m Luden, vii. 56.

ritory which may be identified with the modern province of Austria, and were reduced to the limits of Pannonia.ⁿ

On the deposition of Charles the Fat, Odo or Eudes, count of Paris, and son of Robert the Strong,^o assumed the royal title, and held it for ten years, during which he kept up a continual and sometimes successful struggle against the Northmen.^p At his death, in 898, Charles the Simple, who had in vain attempted to assert his title against Odo, became his successor; and the illegitimate continuation of the Carolingian line lasted until 987, when, on the death of Louis V., Hugh Capet, count of Paris, a great-nephew of Odo, was hailed as king by the army at Noyon, and was anointed by Adalbero, archbishop of Rheims, whose possession of that city gave him the chief influence in disposing of the crown.^q But the royalty of France was little more than nominal. The power of Odo at first reached only from the Meuse to the Loire;^r the later Carolingians, who were almost as feeble and effete as the last of the race which their ancestor had supplanted,^s possessed little more than the rock of Laon, while the real sovereignty of the country was in the hands of the great feudatories, whose power had now become hereditary.^t At the end of the ninth century France was divided into twenty-nine distinct principalities; at the accession of Hugh Capet, the number, exclusive of the independent kingdom of Arles, had increased to fifty-five, and some of these were larger than his own dominions.^u Hugh, indeed, for the title of king, and for the hope that the royal power might in time become a reality, even sacrificed something of his former strength, by giving up the benefices which he had held to the clergy, and by bestowing fiefs on the nobles.^x Fortresses multiplied throughout the land; raised originally during the Norman invasions for the purposes of defence and security, they had become dangerous to the royal power and oppressive to the people.^y Charles the Bald, at the diet of Pistres, in 864, had forbidden the erection of such buildings, and had ordered that those which existed should be demolished;^z but after the dismemberment of the kingdom there was no power which could enforce this law. The nobles everywhere raised their castles, and surrounded themselves with troops

ⁿ Gibbon, v. 302-3.

^o See p. 277.

^p Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 640. seqq.

^q Sismondi, iii. 498; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 35.

^r Sismondi, iii. 294.

^s Ib. 488.

^t Hallam, M. A. i. 15, 19-21.

^u See a list in Guizot, ii. 282; Sismondi, iv. 43.

^x Martin, iii. 33-4.

^y Guizot, iii. 80.

^z Pertz, Leges, i. 499.

of soldiers; and the effects were soon visible both for evil and for good. The martial spirit, which had decayed from the time of Louis the Pious, revived; the dukes and counts, each with an army of his own, encountered the Normans in fight, or turned against each other in private war the strength which they had gained by the degradation of the crown. And both in France and in Italy the lords of castles betook themselves to plunder as an occupation which involved nothing discreditable or unworthy of their position.^a

Notwithstanding the victories of Eudes and of Arnulph, the Northmen for a time continued to infest France in all quarters,—even in the very heart of the country.^b In 911 Charles the Simple, by the treaty of St. Clair on the Epte, ceded to them the territory between that river and the sea, together with Brittany, and bestowed his daughter Gisella on their leader, Rollo, on condition of his doing homage and embracing the Christian faith.^c In the following year Rollo was baptised at Rouen, by the name of Robert,^d when, on each of the seven days during which he wore the baptismal garment, he bestowed lands on some church or monastery, as a compensation for the evils which they had suffered at the hands of his countrymen.^e Ignominious as the cession to the Northmen may appear, it had a precedent in that which the great Alfred had made after victory. The French king lost nothing by it, since the part of Neustria which was given up was actually in possession of the invaders; while, by professing to include Brittany in the gift, he may have hoped to turn the arms of his new liegemen against a population which had already established itself in independence.^f And in the result, the admission of the Northmen was speedily justified. They settled down in their new possessions; they laid aside their barbarous manners, and, under the teaching provided by the care of Heriveus, archbishop of Rheims,^g their paganism was soon extirpated. They married wives of the country; in two generations the Norse tongue had disappeared, and it was among the offspring of the Scandinavian pirates that French for the first time took the rank of a cultivated and polished language.^h The country which had

^a Schmidt, ii. 2; Sismondi, iii. 282-5, not his first baptism. See Palgrave, i. 373-4, 399.

^b Palgrave, i. 649-650.

^c Guil. Gemet. ii. 17. ap. Bouquet, viii. 257. The Norman dominions were afterwards extended. Lappenberg, ii. 15.

^d It has been suspected that this was

^e Guil. Gemet. ii. 18.

^f Bouquet, ix. 87; Hallam, M. A. i. 19, and Suppl. Notes, 44; Sismondi, iii. 328; Depping, ii. 108-115.

^g Richer, ii. 32, ap. Periz, iii.

^h Sismondi, iii. 333-4; Heeren, 'Ein-

long been desolated by their ravages recovered its fertility; churches and monasteries rose again out of ruins; strangers of ability and skill in all kinds of arts were encouraged to settle in Normandy; and in no long time it became the most advanced province of France as to orderly government, industry, and literature.¹

Italy suffered severely during this period, not only from the attacks of the Hungarians and of the Saracens, but from the contests of its own princes. On the deposition of Charles the Fat, the Italians were unwilling to acknowledge a foreign ruler. Guy duke of Spoleto, and Berengar duke of Friuli, both connected through females with the Carolingian family, contended for the kingdom of Italy and for the imperial crown, which was conferred on each of them by popes.^k Arnulph of Germany (A.D. 896) and other princes of Italy were also crowned at Rome as emperors; but the first revival of the empire as a reality was in the person of the German Otho the Great (A.D. 961), from whom the dignity was transmitted to his son and to his grandson of the same name. The Italian and German kingdoms were united in the Othos, and this subjection of Italy to a distant sovereign produced an effect important for its later history. The inhabitants of the towns, who had already been obliged to fortify themselves with walls and to organise a militia for defence against the Saracen and Hungarian invaders, now found that they were thrown still more on their own resources. Each town isolated itself, contracted its interests within its own immediate sphere, and established a magistracy on the ancient model—the germ of the mediæval Italian republics.^m

The clergy and monks shared largely in the calamities of the age. In all the kingdoms which had belonged to the Carolingian monarchy, it was usual for princes to take for themselves, or to assign to their favourites, the temporalities of religious houses. Queens and other ladies enjoyed the revenues of the greater monasteries, without being supposed to contract any obligation to duty on that account.ⁿ In many instances the impropriation of benefices passed as an inheritance in noble families. Great lords

fluss der Normannen auf französ. Literatur,' *Histor. Werke*, ii. 368-9;

Thierry, *Comp. d'Angleterre*, i. 179.

¹ Sismondi, iii. 336; Palgrave, i. 705-7.

^k Schmidt, i. 523-9; Palgrave, i.

629.

^m Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 26, 36, 67-9

— who, however, has antedated the full effect of this. See Hallam, *M. A.* i. 228.

ⁿ Sismondi, iii. 444.

seized on bishopricks, gave them to their relatives, or even disposed of them to the highest bidder. In 990 a count of Toulouse sold the see of Cahors, and about the same time a viscount of Béziers bequeathed the bishopricks of that city and of Agde as portions to his daughters.^o Sometimes mere children were appointed to sees. Thus in 925, on the death of Seulf of Rheims, Herbert count of Vermandois, who was even suspected of having shortened the archbishop's days by poison,^p seized the temporalities for himself, and compelled the clergy and people to elect his son Hugh, a child not yet five years old. The election was confirmed by king Rodolph, and also by pope John X., who appointed a bishop to assist the boy prelate in his duties.^q But in 932, on a political change which threw the possession of Rheims into the hands of another party, a monk named Artald was appointed and consecrated to the see. He received the pall from John XI.; but Hugh, on attaining manhood, asserted his title, and made such representations to pope Agapetus as to obtain a rescript in his favour.^r He disregarded all citations to councils which were held for the consideration of the case; he set at nought their decisions which disallowed his claim and condemned him to excommunication until he should repent.^s The contest was carried on for many years. Artald, as well as Hugh, was a man of family; each of them was supported by stout retainers, and was backed by political power. Artald, however, held possession of the see until his death, in 961, and Hugh, who hoped then to enter on it without opposition, found himself defeated by the influence of Bruno archbishop of Cologne, brother of Otho the Great, and of Gerberga, queen dowager of France, through whom he virtually exercised the regency of the kingdom. It is said that Hugh died of anxiety and vexation.^t

But the condition of the Papacy is the most remarkable feature in the history of this time. From the beginning to the end of the period, it is the subject of violent contests between rival factions. Formosus, bishop of Porto, was charged by John VIII. with having used his position as legate in Bulgaria to bind the king of that country to himself, instead of to the Roman see; with having

^o Sismondi, iv. 89.

^p Artald ap. Flodoard, iv. 35 (Bouquet, viii.). "Seulfus episcopus, ut plures asserunt, ab Heriberti familiaribus veneno potatus defungitur." Cf. Flod. iv. 19.

^q Flod. iv. 20; Richer, i. 55 (Pertz, iii.).

^r Flod. iv. 24; Richer, ii. 23-5.

^s Flod. Hist. iv. 34-7; Annal. 948, seqq.; Conc. Ingilheim. A.D. 948, ap.

Pertz, Leges, ii. 21; Richer, ii. 66-82.

^t Richer, ii. 14-7; Sismondi, iii. 466.

attempted to obtain the popedom, and entered into a conspiracy against both John and Charles the Bald.^a For these offences he was excommunicated by a synod at Rome, and by that at Troyes,^x and was compelled to swear that he would never return to Rome, or aspire to any other than lay communion. The next pope, Marinus, released him both from the excommunication and from his oath;^y and Formosus was raised in 891 to the papacy, which he held for five years. His successor, Boniface, was driven out by Stephen VI. after a pontificate of fifteen days;^z the body of Formosus was, by command of Stephen, dragged from the grave, arrayed in robes, placed in the papal chair, and brought to trial on a charge of having uncanonically been translated from a lesser see to Rome—a charge which, as there had already been a precedent for such translation in the case of Marinus, was aggravated by the false addition that Formosus had submitted to a second consecration.^a A deacon who was assigned to the dead pope as advocate, did not attempt to defend him; Formosus was condemned, the ordinations conferred by him were annulled, his corpse was stripped of the pontifical robes, the fingers used in benediction were cut off, and, after having been dragged about the city, it was thrown into the Tiber.^b But the river, it is said, repeatedly cast it out, and, after the murder of Stephen, in 897, it was taken up and again laid in St. Peter's, where, as it was carried into the church, some statues of saints inclined towards it with reverence, in attestation of the sanctity of Formosus.^c A synod held in the following year under John IX.^d rescinded the condemnation of Formosus, and declared that his translation was justified by his merits, although it ought not to become a precedent. It stigmatised the proceedings of the council under Stephen, ordered the acts of it to be burnt, and excommunicated those who had violated the tomb.^e

^a Joh. Ep. exi. ap. Hard. vi. See Pagé, xv. 291; Gfrörer (Karol. ii. 323) says that Formosus was an antipope in the German interest.

^x Hard. vi. 193.

^y Baron. 883-1.

^z Baron. 897. 1.

^a Auxilius, ap. Baron. 897. 3; Döllinger, i. 424. For Marinus, who had been bishop of Cære, see Mansi in Baron. xv. 382.

^b Liutprand, Antap. i. 30; Baron. 897. 2. Liutprand represents the outrages upon the dead body of Formosus as having taken place under Sergius III. It has been commonly supposed that he mistook Sergius for Stephen (Baron.

897. 2); but Mr. Scudamore argues that Stephen had allowed the corpse to be re-interred, and that Sergius, with his party, again tore it from the grave, and cast it into the river. Thus Liutprand's error would be that of referring these acts to the papacy of Sergius, instead of to an earlier part of his life (England and Rome, 445-450, Lond. 1855). It would seem, however, that Liutprand supposed Sergius to have been the immediate successor of Formosus.

^c Liutprand, i. 31; Jaffé, 304.

^d See Pagé, xv. 493-529. It is commonly placed in 904.

^e Hard. vi. 487, seqq. cc. 3, 4, 7, 9.

A rapid succession of popes now took place. Elections are followed within a few months or weeks or days by deaths which excite suspicion as to the cause; in some cases violence or poison appears without disguise. With Sergius III. in 904, began the ascendancy of a party which had attempted to seat him in St. Peter's chair after the death of Theodore in 897-8,^f but was not then strong enough to establish him and to maintain him in power. Its head was Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, who was leagued with a noble and wealthy Roman widow named Theodora. Theodora had a daughter of the same name, and another named Mary or Marozia—both, like herself, beautiful, and thoroughly depraved.^g For upwards of fifty years these women held the disposal of the Roman see, which they filled with their paramours, their children, and their grandchildren.^h Sergius, who held the papacy till 911, is described as a monster of rapacity, lust, and cruelty—as having lived in open concubinage with Marozia, and having abused the treasures of the church for the purpose of securing abettors and striking terror into enemies.ⁱ In 914, a young ecclesiastic of Ravenna, named John, who, when on a mission from his church to Rome, had attracted the notice of Theodora, and had been invited to her embraces, was through her influence appointed to the bishoprick of Bologna. Before consecration he was advanced to the higher dignity of Ravenna, and, as she could not bear the separation from him, she

^f Liutprand says that his unsuccessful attempt was made in rivalry to Formosus (i. 29). But this is a mistake, arising from the writer's idea that Sergius was the next pope to Formosus. See Pagi, xv. 493, 535.

^g Liutpr. Autop. ii. 48.

^h Baronius argues that, when the papacy was filled by a succession of "homines monstrosi, vita turpissimi, moribus perditissimi, usquequaque foedissimi," its continuance—unlike other governments, in which vice is followed by ruin—must be a token of especial Divine favour (879. 4; 900, 1-6; 908. 7; 912. 9-11). Döllinger is content with saying that the papacy is not accountable for evils done while it was in bondage. i. 425.

ⁱ Planck, iii. 254-6. The principal authority for the history of the papacy during this time is Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, whose writings are printed in the third volume of Pertz' *Monumenta*. His chief work has the title of *Antipraxis*, i. e. *Requitul*—having been written, as he says (iii. 1), with a view of at once

avenging himself on Berengar and Willa, and repaying credit to those who had benefited his family and himself. Liutprand's fidelity has been impugned, especially by Muratori. Dean Milman hesitates (ii. 452), and Luden is unfavourable (vii. 484). But it seems to be generally thought that, with a strong disposition to satire, and notwithstanding some mistakes, he is in the main trustworthy (see Schröckh, xxi. 168; xxii. 238; Planck. iii. 256; Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 96; Pertz, iii. 263; Gieseler, II. i. 212; Gfrörer, iii. 1352). Mr. Seudamore (England and Rome, 435-475) has taken the trouble to dissect the Abbé Rohrbacher's defence of Sergius and other popes, and his charges against Liutprand. I shall not again advert to M. Rohrbacher, whose voluminous compilation—alike deficient in knowledge, judgment, veracity, and style—is only entitled to notice on account of the popularity which it seems to enjoy in the French church of the present day.

procured his elevation to the papacy.^k Disgraceful as were the means by which his promotion had been earned, John X. showed himself an energetic, if not a saintly pope. He crowned Berengar as emperor—probably with a view of breaking the power of the nobles; he applied both to him and to the Greek emperor for aid against the Saracens; and, at the head of his own troops and of some furnished by Berengar, he marched against their camp on the Garigliano, and, by the aid of St. Peter and St. Paul (as it is said), obtained a victory which forced them to abandon that post of annoyance and terror to Rome.^m But his spirit was probably too independent for the party which he was expected to serve, and they resolved to get rid of him. In 928, some adherents of Guy, duke of Tuscany, the second husband of Marozia, surprised the pope in the castle of St. Angelo; his brother Peter, who was particularly obnoxious to the faction, was murdered before his eyes, and John himself was either starved or suffocated in prison.ⁿ

John XI., who became pope in 931, is said by Liutprand^o to have been a son of Marozia by pope Sergius, while others suppose him to have been the legitimate offspring of her marriage with Alberic, marquis of Camerino.^p This pope was restricted to the performance of his ecclesiastical functions, while the government of Rome was swayed by Marozia's third husband, Hugh the Great, king of Arles, and, after his expulsion, by her son the younger Alberic. Marozia shared the fall of Hugh, and ended her days in a monastery.^q For twenty-two years Alberic, with the title A.D. 932? of Consul or Patrician, exercised a tyrannical power, while 954.

the papal chair was filled by a succession of his creatures whom he held in entire subjection.^r On the death of Agapetus II. in 956, the Tuscan party considered that it would not be safe to entrust the papacy to any one who might divide its interest; and Octavian, son of Alberic, a youth of eighteen, who two years before had succeeded to his father's secular power, was advised to take the office for himself. Perhaps some such step had been contemplated by his father, as Octavian was already in ecclesiastical orders.^s

^k Liutpr. ii. 48. Mr. Scudamore (468) supposes the younger Theodora to be meant, but Liutprand's words seem rather to point to the mother. Against the story there is the difficulty raised by Muratori—that John appears to have held the see of Ravenna for nine years. See Milman, ii. 457; Scudamore, 469.

^m Liutpr. ii. 49-54 (who calls the Saracens *Peni*); Pagi, xv. 573; Milman, ii. 453.

ⁿ Liutpr. iii. 43.

^o ii. 48; iii. 43.

^p See Milman, ii. 458.

^q This is Flodoard's account. But Liutprand (iii. 45) represents her as continuing to share in the power of her sons Alberic and John. See Schröckh, xxii. 248.

^r Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 98-9.

^s Schröckh, xxii. 258; Planck, iii. 263; Luden, vii. 101. It is, however,

As pope, he assumed the name of John XII.—this being the first instance of such a change; but his civil government was still carried on under his original name.^t

The tyranny and aggressions of Berengar II. pressed heavily on the Italians; the pope and many other persons of importance, both ecclesiastics and laity, entreated Otho the Great to come to their deliverance. Otho was crowned with great pomp at Monza, as king of Italy, and proceeded onwards to Rome.^u On the way he took an oath to defend the territory of St. Peter, and to uphold all the privileges of the pope;^x and it has been said that he executed a charter, by which the donations of his predecessors to the Roman see were confirmed, with large additions, while the imperial right of ratifying the elections to the papacy was maintained.^y At Rome, Otho received the imperial crown from the hands of John, and he exacted from the chief inhabitants an oath that they would never join with Berengar or his son Adalbert.^z

But no sooner had the emperor left Rome than John threw himself into the interest of Adalbert, who, on Otho's appearance in Italy, had sought a refuge among the Saracens of Fraxinetum.^a Otho, on hearing of this, sent to inquire into the truth of the matter; the answer was a report that the pope lived in the most shameful debauchery, so that female pilgrims were even afraid to visit Rome, lest they should become the victims of his passions; that he scandalously neglected his duties of every kind, and that he had attached himself to Adalbert because he knew that the emperor would not countenance him in his disgraceful courses.^b Otho remarked that the pope was but a boy, and would amend under the influence of good examples and advice; he attempted to negotiate with him,^c and John promised to change his way of life, but in the meantime received Adalbert with welcome

possible, as Baronius (955. 4) suggests, that when made a clerk, he had an elder brother living.

^t See Gfrörer, iii. 1237.

^u Liutprand, *Hist. Ottonis*, 1, seqq.; Luden, vii. 106-7. For the genuineness of the *Historia Ottonis* (sometimes styled Book vii. of the *Antapodosis*), which is questioned by Baronius (963. 3), see Schröckh, xxi. 169-170.

^x Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 29. See Gfrörer, iii. 1242.

^y It is in Harduin, vi. 623-6, and in Pertz, *Leges*, ii. Append. Some have altogether set aside this document (as

Schröckh, xxii. 262-5). Pertz (p. 163) thinks that it is a genuine compact, but that the donation is interpolated, and that it is otherwise altered as to form. Gieseler (II. i. 213) takes a similar view, while he thinks that it is rather the source of the *Ego Ludovicus* (see above, p. 238), than copied from it, as Schröckh supposed. Comp. Schmidt, ii. 166-7; Planck, iii. 280-1; Luden, vii. 111; Gfrörer, iii. 1241.

^z Liutpr. *Hist. Ott.* 3.

^a Ib. 4.

^b Ib.

^c Ib. 5-6.

into Rome.^d The emperor returned to the city, and at his approach John and Adalbert ran off with all that they could lay their hands on.

The Romans took an oath never to choose a pope without the emperor's consent, and prayed for an investigation into the conduct of John. For this purpose a council of Italian, French, and German bishops was assembled at St. Peter's in the A.D. 963. presence of Otho and many lay nobles.^e The emperor expressed surprise that John did not appear to defend himself. The Roman clergy, who all attended the meeting, were for condemning him at once; evidence, they said, was needless in the case of iniquities which were notorious even to Iberians, Babylonians, and Indians—the pope was no wolf in sheep's clothing, but one who showed his character without disguise; but Otho insisted on inquiry. Bishops and clergymen of the Roman province then deposed that the accused had been guilty of offences which are heaped together without any discrimination of their comparative magnitude. He had consecrated the Eucharist without communicating; he had ordained in a stable, and at irregular times; he had sold episcopal ordination,—in one case to a boy of ten; his sacrilegious practices were notorious; he had been guilty of murder, of arson, of revolting cruelties,—of adultery, incest, and all kinds of incontinence. He had cast off all the decencies of the ecclesiastical character; had publicly hunted, had dressed himself as a soldier, with sword, helmet, and cuirass; he had drunk wine “to the love of the devil;” he was in the habit, while gaming, of calling on Jupiter, Venus, and other demons for aid; he omitted the canonical hours, and never signed himself with the cross.^f Otho, who could not speak Latin, advised the accusers, by the mouth of Liutpraud, not to bring charges out of envy, as was usual against persons of eminent station; but both clergy and laity, “as one man,” imprecated on themselves the most fearful judgments in this world and hereafter, if all, and worse than all, that they had said were not true; and at their entreaty the emperor wrote to the pope, desiring him to answer for himself. John only replied by threats of excommunication against all who should take part in the attempt to set up another pope.^g The emperor spoke of this as boyish folly, and

^d Liutpr. 7.

^e Ib. 9.

is equal in its kind to anything in Baronius.

^f Ib. 10. “The Protestants,” says Gibbon, “have dwelt with malicious pleasure on these characters of Antichrist; but, to a philosophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues” (v. 513). This

^g Ib. 13. John wrote “*ut non habetis licentiam nullum ordinare.*” The double negative does not escape criticism in the reply.

sent a second letter, which the messengers could not deliver, as John was engaged in hunting. Otho thereupon exposed the treachery with which the pope had behaved, after having invited him into Italy for the purpose of aiding against Berengar and Adalbert.^h John was deposed, and Leo, chief secretary of the see, a man of good character, but not yet in orders, was chosen in his room.ⁱ

But a conspiracy was already formed against the Germans, by means of the deposed pontiff's agents. An insurrection took place while Otho remained at Rome, with only a few of his soldiers to guard him;^k and after the emperor's departure, John returned,

A.D. 964.

and held another council, which deposed Leo from all clerical orders, annulled his ordinations, and, borrowing the language of Nicolas I.,^m declared the late synod infamous. The vengeance of John and his party was cruelly exercised on the hands, the eyes, the tongues, and the noses of their opponents.ⁿ Otho was on the point of again returning to expel John, when the pope died in consequence of a blow which he received on the head while in the act of adultery—from the devil, according to Liutprand, while others are content to suppose that it was from the husband whom he had dishonoured.^o The Romans, forgetting their late oath, chose an ecclesiastic named Benedict as pope. But

A.D. 964.

the emperor reappeared before the city, starved them into a surrender, and reinstated Leo. A council was held, at which Benedict gave up his robes and his pastoral staff to Leo, who broke the staff in the sight of the assembly. The antipope was degraded from the orders above that of deacon, which, at the emperor's request, he was allowed to retain, and was banished to Hamburg. He met with great veneration in the place of his exile and died in the following year.^p

^h Liutpr. 14.

ⁱ Ib. 16. Baronius (963. 31-7) is violent against the council for its irregularity, and treats Leo as an antipope—"nec numerata Leonum ita nominatorum pontificum series esse facit quod non est; sicuti nec eanem aliquem leonis nomine insignitum vere esse leonem ipsa nominatio vel numeratio tantum facta constituet" (38). He is followed, with greater moderation by Pagi (in loc.), Muratori, and others (see Schröckh, xxii. 273). Döllinger's remarks on the subject are curiously qualified. i. 428.

^k Liutpr. 16.

^m See p. 303; Hard. vi. 633.

ⁿ Liutpr. 18-9.

^o Ib. 9. See Schröckh, xxii. 273-5; Luden, vii. 529.

^p Liutpr. 21; Hard. vi. 637; Adam Brem. ii. 10; Pagi, xvi. 155. In Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 167-8, are two documents, which profess to be by Leo—(1) A *privilegium* granted to Otho, that he and his successors shall nominate both to the empire and to the papacy; and that, if any person be chosen pope by the clergy and people, the emperor's approbation and *investiture* shall be requisite. Dr. Pertz thinks that the emperors at the time really had the power here described, but that the form of the document seems to show a later origin. (2).

John XIII., who in October 965 was consecrated with the emperor's approbation as the successor of Leo was still, three months driven from Rome and banished in Campania by a party which had become very powerful, and since it was established a government on the republican model, under the name of the ancient Roman magistracy, in hostility alike to German emperors and to popes.¹ Once again it had Rome and restored the pope. The republican leaders were banished to Germany; the well-to-do Romans were blinded; others of the party were blinded or mutilated; the body of the prefect who had announced the decree of banishment to John was torn from the grave; his successor in the prefecture was paraded about the city, crowned with a mulberry, and mounted on an ass. The report of these severities made such a sensation that, when Liutprand was sent to Constantinople to seek a Greek princess in marriage for the heir of the empire, Nicophorus Phocas reproached him with his master's "impiety,"² and alleged it as a reason for treating him with indignity. The envoy replied that his sovereign had not invaded Rome as a tyrant, but had rescued it from the disgraceful oppression of tyrants and prostitutes; that he had acted vigorously to the honor of the Roman emperors, and, had he neglected so to act, he would have been "impious, unjust, cruel, and tyrannical."³

Crescentius, who is said to have been a son of the younger Theodora,⁴ became the chief of the republican party, and governed Rome with the title of consul. His character has been extolled as that of a hero and a patriot,⁵ but there is not sufficient evidence to show that his patriotism arose from any better motive than selfish ambition.⁶ In 971, when the empire of Otto the Great had passed

A *cession* of donations made to the church, which is evidently a forgery of the time when the empire and the papacy were at variance in the eleventh century. See Baron. 964. 22-9, with the notes by Pagi and Mansi; Gieseler, II. i. 215; Milman, ii. 472. Grörer defends the *privilegium*, iii. 1255.

¹ Gibbon, v. 515; Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 102; Milman, ii. 472-3.

² Cc. 4-5 of Liutprand's very curious and amusing "Legatio." Nicophorus styled Otho *ῥῶμα*, not *ῥωμία*, and complained of his assuming the imperial title (cc. 2, 25). He said, "as if for the purpose of insult"—"You are not Romans, but Lombards." Liutprand, notwithstanding the emperor's signs that he wished to go on, interrupted him with an invective against the Romans

from their origin under Romulus. "We," he said, "Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Bavarians, Swabians, Burgundians, despise them so much that, when angry, we use no other term of insult to our enemies than—*Romani*; for in this single name of Romans we comprise whatever is ignoble, cowardly, greedy, luxurious, lying—in short, all vices" (c. 12). On a consideration of the context, and a comparison of cc. 50-1, I am unable to agree with Dean Milman (ii. 473) that the *Byzantine* Romans are meant, although no doubt the words were meant to include a reflection on them.

³ Hermann. Contract. Ann. 974, ap. Pertz, v. See Milman, ii. 476.

⁴ Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 103, seqq.

⁵ Hallam, M. A. i. 221-2.

into the hands of a young and less formidable successor, Crescentius decoyed pope Benedict VI. into the castle of St. Angelo, where he was put to death. While the pope was yet alive, Boniface VII. was set up by the Crescentian party, but was obliged to give way to Benedict VII., who was established by the Tuscan interest, and held the see until 983.* Otho II., who survived him but a short time, nominated to the papacy Peter, bishop of Pavia, who, out of reverence for the apostolic founder of the Roman church, changed his name to John XIV. But Boniface, April, 984. who in his flight, had carried off much valuable property of the church, and had converted it into money at Constantinople, returned to Rome, seized John, shut him up in St. Angelo, where he is supposed to have been starved or poisoned,^y and, in concert Aug. 984— with Crescentius, held the papacy until his death, which Jul. 985. took place within a year. His body was then dragged about the streets and treated with indignity, until some of the clergy charitably gave it burial.^z The next pope, John XV., is described as a man of much learning,^a but it is said that his clergy detested him for his pride,^b and the biographer of Abbo of Fleury tells us that the abbot, on visiting Rome, found him "not such as he wished him to be, or such as he ought to have been," but "greedy of base gain, and venal in all his actions."^c He was held in constraint by Crescentius, who would not allow any one to approach the pope without paying for permission, and seized not only the property of the church, but even the oblations.^d John was on the point of requesting Otho III., then a youth of sixteen, to deliver him from this oppression, when he died in 996.^e Otho, on his way to Rome, was met at Ravenna by messengers who announced the pope's death, and, probably in the name of a party among the Romans who were weary of the consul's domination, requested that the king (although he had not yet received the imperial crown) would nominate a successor. The choice of Otho fell on his cousin and chaplain Bruno, a young man of twenty-four, and the first German pope (as he is usually reckoned) assumed the name of Gregory V.^f

* Herm. Contr. Ann. 974; Schröckh, xxii. 281-2; Jaffé, 332-6.

^y Baron. 985. 1.

^z Herm. Ann. 985; Luden, vii. 276-7.

^a Schröckh, xxii. 283.

^b Herm. Ann. 986.

^c Aimoin. c. 11, ap. Mabill. viii.

^d Schmidt, ii. 65.

^e Pagi, xvi. 345.

^f Schröckh, xxii. 307-8; Planck, iii. 342-5. Baronius, however, says that Stephen VIII., who was pope from 939 to 942, was a German, appointed through the influence of Otho I., and that on this account he was assailed by the Romans (940. 1). Gfrörer gives other authorities for this. iii. 1207.

Gregory crowned his kinsman as emperor, on Ascension-day 996,^g and wishing to begin his pontificate in a spirit of clemency, obtained the pardon of Crescentius, whom Otho had intended to send into exile. But scarcely had the emperor left Rome when Crescentius made an insurrection, and expelled Gregory. After an interval of eight months, the consul set up an antipope, John, bishop of Piacenza, by birth a Calabrian and a subject of the Greek empire, who had been chaplain to Otho's mother, the Byzantine princess Theophano, and had been godfather both to the emperor and to Gregory.^h Otho, on hearing of this revolution, returned from an expedition against the Slaves. He was met by Gregory at Pavia, advanced to Rome, and besieged Crescentius in St. Angelo. According to the German writers in general, he forced the consul to a surrender, while the Italians state that he got him into his power by a promise of safety.ⁱ If such a promise was given, it was violated. The consul was beheaded; his body was exposed on a gallows, hanging by the feet, and twelve of his chief partisans were put to death.^k The antipope John, who had shown an intention of placing Rome under the Byzantine empire,^m was cruelly punished, although Nilus, a hermit of great sanctity, who had almost reached the age of ninety, had undertaken a toilsome journey from Calabria to intercede for him.ⁿ He was blinded, deprived of his nose and tongue, stripped of his robes, and led through the city riding on an ass with the tail in his hand. According to some authorities, he was banished to Germany; others say that he was thrown from the capitol.^o The varieties of statement as to the authors of his punishment are still greater; one annalist relates that he was blinded and mutilated by some persons who feared lest Otho should pardon him;^p some writers say that Otho and Gregory concurred in the proceedings;

Sept. 996.

May, 997.

Jan. 998.

April, 998.

^g Höfler, i. 97. See Jaffé, 340.

^h Thietmar, iv. 21, ap. Pertz, iii. Höfler, i. 127.

ⁱ See a comparison of the authorities in Luden, vii. 300-2, and the notes. In behalf of the German account, Schmidt says that Crescentius was tried by a Roman tribunal (ii. 67). Radulph the Bald tells a different story—that Crescentius, in despair, left the castle, made his way into the emperor's presence, and threw himself at his feet; that Otho, with sarcastic words, ordered him to be taken back, and continued the siege until the garrison mutinied, and made

overtures to the emperor, who bade them throw the consul from the walls, "lest the Romans should say that we stole their prince;" and that thus Crescentius perished. i. 5. A.D. 998, ap. Bouquet, x.

^k Ann. Quedlinb. 998, ap. Pertz, iv.
^m Schmidt, ii. 66; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 109.

ⁿ Neander, Memorials, 499; Höfler, i. 140.

^o Thietmar, iv. 21.
^p Ann. Quedlinb. 998. These annals are very unfavourable to John. Ann. 997.

while according to others, the emperor was softened by the prayers of Nilus, and the cruelties exercised on the antipope were sanctioned by his rival alone.^a

During the pontificate of John XV., the see of Rheims had become the subject of a new contest, more important than that between Artald and Hugh. On the death of archbishop Adalbero, in the year 989, Arnulph, an illegitimate son of one of the last Carolingian kings, requested Hugh Capet to bestow it on him, promising in return to serve him faithfully in all ways.^r The new king granted the petition, chiefly with a view to detach Arnulph from the interest of his uncle Charles, duke of Lorraine, the heir of the Carolingian line. The archbishop, at his consecration, took an oath of fealty to Hugh, imprecating the most fearful curses on himself if he should break it.^s He even received the eucharist in attestation of his fidelity, although some of the clergy^t present protested against such an application of the sacrament. But when the arms of Charles appeared to be successful, the gates of Rheims were opened to him, and his soldiers committed violent and sacrilegious outrages in the city. The archbishop was carried off as if a prisoner, and sent forth a solemn anathema against the robbers who had profaned his church;^u it was, however, suspected that he had a secret understanding with his uncle, and the suspicion was speedily justified by his openly joining Charles at Laon.^x But Laon was soon betrayed into the hands of Hugh by its bishop, Adalbero;^y the king imprisoned his rival at Orleans, where Charles died within a few months, and held a council of the suffragans of

Rheims at Senlis, for the examination of their metropolitan's conduct. Letters were then sent to Rome both by Hugh and by the bishops, detailing the treachery of Arnulph,

^a See Luden, vii. 300-2, and notes; Höfler, i. 141; Bayle, art. *Olhon III.*, notes B, C, D. "Il est presque impossible," says Bayle, "de mentir sur ces siècles là. Racontez selon votre caprice et à tout hasard les circonstances de quelque fait, il arrivera rarement qu'aucun auteur ne vous favorise."—Note D.

^r Richer, iv. 25.

^s Among other things, "*Fiant dies mei pauci, et episcopatum meum accipiat alter*" (Synod. Rem. S. Basoli, c. 8). The instrument of his election alluded in curious terms to his birth—"Arnulphum regis Lotharii filium, quem etsi altus sanguis vitio temporis sub

anathemate positi aliquo affectu contagio, sed tamen hunc mater ecclesia purificans mysticis abluit sacramentis." This is supposed to be the work of Gerbert. Bouquet, x. 401.

^t "*Quorum mens purgator erat.*"

Richer, iv. 30.

^u Syn. Rem. 12.

^x Richer, iv. 33-6; Hock's Gerbert, 83, Wien, 1837.

^y Adalbero had been a pupil of Gerbert, and was a man of ability and knowledge, but of perfidious character, and suspected of an amour with Emma, the queen of Lothair, and mother of the last Carolingian, Louis "le Fainéant." Richer, iii. 66; Hock, 151-2.

with the wretched state into which his province had fallen, and asking how this "second Judas" should be dealt with.^a But the pope was influenced by a partisan of Arnulph, who presented him with a valuable horse and other gifts; while the envoys of the opposite party, who made no presents either to John or to Crescencius, stood three days at the gates of the papal palace without being allowed to enter.^a

But Hugh now found himself strong enough to act without the pope. In June 991, a synod was held at the church of St. Basol, near Rheims, under Siguin, archbishop of Sens.^b The president proposed that, before proceeding to the trial of Arnulph, an assurance of *indulgence* for the accused should be obtained, since, if his treason were a cause of blood, it would be unlawful for bishops to judge it.^c Some members, however, remarked that such a course was dangerous; if bishops declined such inquiries, princes would cease to ask for ecclesiastical judgments, would take all judgment into their own hands, and would cite the highest ecclesiastics before their secular tribunals; and the proposal appears to have been dropped. Siguin detailed the course which had been followed; the pope had left the bishops of France a year without any answer to their application, and they must now act for themselves. All who could say anything in favour of the accused were enjoined, under pain of anathema, to come forward; whereupon Abbo, abbot of Fleury, and others, produced passages from the Isidorian decretals, to show that the synod had no right to judge a bishop—the trial of bishops being one of those "greater causes" which belonged to the pope alone.^d To this it was answered that all had been done regularly; that application had been made to the pope, but without effect.^e

Arnulph of Orleans, who was regarded as the wisest and most eloquent of the French bishops,^f spoke very strongly against the

^a Syn. Rem. 25-6; Richer, iv. 41-8.

^b Syn. Rem. 27; Syn. Causiensis, ap. Pertz, iii. Baronius (991. 9) thinks them very unreasonable in being so soon weary of waiting, seeing that the pope must have been full of business.

^c The acts of this synod, which were first published by the Magdeburg centuriators, are not fully given in any edition of the councils, except that by Mansi. Pertz has printed them, vol. iii. 653, seqq. Baronius (992. 3-4, 11) and others attempt to throw suspicion on them, as having been drawn up by Gerbert; but the fact that Gerbert owns

having edited them, with condensations and other such alterations, ought rather to persuade us of their substantial correctness. (See Hist. Litt. vi. 526, 589; Schröckh, xxii. 286; Planck, iii. 307; Neander, vi. 33; Milman, ii. 491.) Richer gives an account of the council (iv. 53, seqq.), and refers to Gerbert for further details. c. 73.

^d C. 3.

^e C. 19-22; Richer, iv. 67.

^f C. 27.

^g C. 1. The speech put into his mouth is acknowledged by Gerbert to be a summary of his addresses to the

Roman claim to jurisdiction. He did not hint, nor does he appear to have felt, any suspicion of the Decretals;^h but against their authority he proved by an array of genuine canons, councils, and papal writings that for the decision of local questions provincial synods were sufficient; and he cited the principles of Hincmar as to appeals. The requirements of the Decretals, he said, had already been satisfied by the reference which both the king and the bishops had vainly made to Rome. He denied the power of the Roman pontiff by his silence to lay to sleep the ancient laws of the church, or by his sole authority to reverse them; if it were so, there would really be no laws to rely on. He enlarged on the enormities of recent popes, and asked how it was possible to defer to the sentence of such monsters—destitute as they were of all judicial qualities, of knowledge, of love, of character—very antichrists sitting in the temple of God, who could only act as lifeless idols. It would be far better, if the dissensions of princes would permit, to seek a decision from the learned and pious bishops of Belgium and Germany than from the venal and polluted court of Rome.

Arnulph was brought before the council, and protested his innocence of the treachery imputed to him; but he gave way when confronted with a clerk who had opened the gates of Rheims to the besiegers, and who now declared that he had acted by the archbishop's orders.^h On the last day of the synod, when the king appeared with his son and colleague Robert, Arnulph prostrated himself before them and abjectly implored that his life and members might be spared.ⁱ He was required to surrender the ensigns of his temporalities to the king, and those of his spiritual power to the bishops; and to read an act of abdication, founded on that by which Ebbo had resigned the same dignity a century and a half before. The degraded archbishop was then sent to prison at Orleans, and Gerbert, who had taken no part in the proceedings against him, was chosen as his successor.^k

This eminent man was born of humble parentage in Auvergne about the middle of the century. He was admitted at an early age into the monastery of Aurillac,^m where he made extraordinary

council, and of his remarks to those who sat near him. Perhaps it may owe something more than is admitted to the editor. Baronius gives it with an indignant commentary of interruptions (902. 15, seqq.). Fleury is more favourable, lvii. 26.

^g Schröckh, xxii. 289.

^h C. 30. The clerk, Adalgard, had before given evidence to this effect, and had offered to prove it by the ordeal, c. 11. He was afterwards deposed. c. 55.

ⁱ C. 53.

^k Hock's Gerbert, Wien, 1837, p. 163.

^m Founded in the end of the ninth

proficiency in his studies. He had already visited other chief schools of France, when Borel, count of Barcelona, arrived at Aurillac on a devotional pilgrimage, and gave such a report of the state of learning in Spain as induced the abbot to send Gerbert with him on his return to that country.ⁿ In Spain Gerbert devoted himself especially to the acquirement of mathematical and physical science, which was then almost exclusively confined to the schools of the Saracens; but it is uncertain whether his knowledge was derived immediately from the Moslem teachers of Seville and Cordova,^o or from Christians who had benefited by their instruction.^p In 968 he visited Rome in company with his patron Borel, and was introduced to Otho the Great. He then went into France, and became master of the cathedral school at Rheims; and on a second visit to Italy, in company with the archbishop A.D. 972. Adalbero, he obtained the abbacy of Bobbio through the interest of the empress Adelaide.^q But he found the property of the abbey dilapidated by his predecessor; he was involved in contentions with the neighbouring nobles, who insisted on his confirming grants of the monastic lands, which had been wrongfully made to them; while the monks were insubordinate, and his connexion with the Germans served to render him generally unpopular.^r His position became yet worse on the death of Otho, which took place within a year after his appointment; and, after in vain attempting to obtain support from the pope, he resolved to leave Bobbio, although he still retained the dignity of abbot.^s "All Italy," he wrote on this occasion to a friend, "appears to me a Rome; and the morals of the Romans are the horror of the world."^t

Gerbert now resumed his position at Rheims, where he raised the school to an unrivalled reputation, and effectively influenced the improvement of other seminaries.^u The study of mathematics, the Arabian numerals, and the decimal notation were now for the first time introduced into France.^x The library of the see was

century by Gerard, count of Aurillac. See Mabill. vii 7-8.

ⁿ Richer, iii. 43; Hock, 61.

^o W. Malnesb. 284.

^p Schröckh, xxi. 230. Hock (who undertakes the difficult task of representing Gerbert as a sound and consistent "Catholic") says that the story of his having studied under the Arabs is a calumny, which is not found until a

century after his time (pp. 159, seqq.). See Ampère, iii. 311.

^q Hock, 62-3.

^r Epp. 2-3, ap. Bouquet. x.

^s Hist. Litt. vi. 561.

^t Ep. 40, ed. Paris, 1611; Hock, 64-7.

^u Cf. Ep. 45.

^x Hist. Litt. vi. 563.

^y Hock, 149. See Martin, iii. 25.

enriched by Gerbert's care with many transcripts of rare and valuable books;^y while his mechanical genius and science were displayed in the construction of a clock, of astronomical instruments, and of an organ blown by steam^z—apparently the first application of a power which has in later times produced such marvellous effects.^a He also took an important part in the political movements of the time, acting as secretary to Adalbero, whose position as archbishop of Rheims gave him a powerful influence in affairs of state.^b Adalbero had fixed on him as his own successor in the archbishoprick; but his humble origin was unable to cope with the pretensions of Arnulph, which, as he asserts, were supported by simoniacal means.^c He therefore acquiesced in his defeat, and retained the office of secretary under his successful rival. For a time he adhered to Arnulph in labouring for the interest of Charles of Lorraine; but he saw reason to change his course,^d sent Arnulph a formal renunciation of his service, and wrote to the archbishop of Treves that he could not, for the sake of either Charles or Arnulph, endure to be any longer a tool of the devil, and lend himself to the maintenance of falsehood against truth.^e Hugh gladly welcomed so accomplished an adherent, and employed him as tutor to his son Robert.

The council of Rheims wrote to the pope in a tone of great deference, excusing itself for having acted without his concurrence, on the ground that he had so long left unanswered the application which had been made to him.^f But John had already sent northward as his legate an abbot named Leo, who had reached Aix-la-Chapelle when he was informed of Arnulph's deposition. On this Leo returned to Rome, and John issued a mandate to the bishops who had been concerned in the council, ordering them to appear at Rome for the trial of Arnulph's case, and in the mean time to reinstate the archbishop, and to abstain from the exercise of ecclesiastical functions.^g The French bishops, in a synod held at

Chela, resolved to maintain the decisions of Rheims;^h A.D. 994. the king wrote to John assuring him that nothing had

^y Epp. 6, 8, &c., ap. Bouquet, x.

^z W. Malmesb. 276.

^a Sismondi, iv. 119. He afterwards made a famous clock at Magdeburg for Otto III. Thietmar, vi. 67.

^b Hock, 69.

^c Conc. Mosson. ap. Hard, vi. 735, b.; Richer, iv. 102; Hock, 80.

^d See Milman, ii. 489.

^e Epp. 73, 74, ap. Bouquet, x. 469; Richer, iv. 102; Hock, 85-6.

^f Planck, iii. 303-4.

^g Hard, vi. 729; Pertz, iii. 680; Planck, iii. 315-6.

^h This council is known only from l. iv. 89 of Richer, whose valuable history was discovered by Pertz. See Gieseler, II. i. 219.

been done in breach of the papal rights, and offering to meet him at Grenoble, if the pope should wish to investigate the affair.ⁱ Gerbert protested to John that he had done no wrong,^k and exerted himself, by correspondence in all directions, to enlist supporters on his side.^m His tone as to the pretensions of Rome was very decided: thus he tells Siguin of Sens, that God's judgment is higher than that of the Roman bishop, and adds that the pope himself, if he should sin against a brother, and should refuse to hear the Church's admonitions, must, according to our Lord's own precept, be counted "as a heathen man and a publican;" he declaims on the hardship of being suspended from the offices of the altar, and urges the archbishop to disregard the pope's prohibition.ⁿ

John, without making any public demonstration for a time, endeavoured, by the agency of monks, to excite discontent among the people of France, so as to alarm the new sovereign.^o Gerbert found his position at Rheims extremely uneasy. Some of his most powerful friends were dead. He tells his correspondents that there was a general outcry against him—that even his blood was required;^p that not only his military retainers, but even his clergy, had conspired to avoid his ministrations, and to abstain from eating in company with him.^q In this distress he was cheered by receiving a letter from Otho III., then in his fifteenth year. He gladly accepted the invitation; in the end of 994 he repaired to the German court, where he found an honourable refuge, and became the young prince's tutor and favourite adviser.^r In this position, where new hopes were set before his mind, he could afford to speak of his archbishoprick with something like indifference. He writes to the empress Adelaide that, as the dignity was bestowed on him by bishops, he will not resign it except in obedience to an episcopal judgment; but he will not forcibly retain it if that judgment should be against him.^s In 995 the pope again sent Leo into France. The legate put forth a letter to Hugh and his son by way of answer to Arnulph of Orleans, and others who had taken part in the council of Rheims.^t He meets the charges of

ⁱ Bouquet, x. 418.

^k Ib. 420, Ep. 92.

^m Ib. 413, seqq.

ⁿ Ib. 413, Ep. 85.

^o Planck, iii. 317-8.

^p Bouquet, x. 421, Ep. 96. This seems to mean only that there was a wish to ruin him.

^q Ib. 424, Ep. 102.

^r Ep. 102, l. c. Pagi (xvi. 336), Hock (113), and others, place this letter before the council of Mousson; others, as Baronius (995. 12), Hardouin (vi. 731), and the editor of the Gall. Chr. Scriptores (x. 424), after it.

^s Richer, iv. 95. The letter, which seems to be incomplete, is printed for the first time by Pertz, iii. 686.

^t Hock, 111-3.

ignorance against Rome by citing passages of Scripture, in which it is said that God chooses the foolish things of this world in preference to the wise. In reply to the charges of venality, he alleges that our Lord himself and his apostles received such gifts as were offered to them. The bishops, by their conduct towards the Roman church, had cut themselves off from it; their behaviour to their mother had been like that of Ham to Noah. Arnulph of Orleans, "with his apostate son, whoever he may be,"^u had written such things against the holy see as no Arian had ever ventured to write. The legate cites the expressions of reverence with which eminent men of former times had spoken of Rome; if, he says, the chair of St. Peter had ever tottered, it had now re-established itself firmly for the support of all the churches. He reflects on the irregularity of the proceedings against Arnulph, and on the cruelty with which he was treated; and he excuses the pope's neglect of the first application in the matter, on the ground of the troubles which were at that time caused by Crescentius.

A council, scantily attended by bishops from Germany and Lotharingia, was held under Leo at Mousson in June 995. The bishops of France had refused to appear either at Rome or at Aix;^x Gerbert alone, who had already removed to the German court,^y appeared to answer for himself. In a written speech he defended the steps by which he had (reluctantly, as he said) been promoted to the see of Rheims, together with his behaviour towards Arnulph. He declared himself resolved to pay no heed to the prohibition by which the pope had interdicted him from divine offices—a mandate which involved much more than his own personal interest; but, at the request of the archbishop of Treves, he agreed, for the sake of example, to refrain from celebrating mass until another synod should be held.^z Arnulph was restored to his see by a synod held at Rheims in 995; but he was detained in prison for three years longer.^a

Robert, who succeeded his father in October 996, a prince of a gentle and devout, but feeble character,^b had married Bertha, daughter of Conrad, king of Burgundy, and widow of a count of Chartres. The union was uncanonical, both because the parties were related in the fourth degree, and because Robert had contracted a "spiritual affinity" with the countess, by becoming

^u "Cum suo nescimus quo apostata filio," i. e. Gerbert, by whom the acts of the council were drawn up.

^x Pertz, iii. 690.

^y Hock, 111.

^z Conc. Mossonense, ap. Pertz, iii. 691; Richer, iv. 102-5.

^a Hugo Floriac. ap. Bouquet, x. 220.

^b Helgald, Vita Roberti, ap. Bouquet,

x. 98, seqq.

sponsor for one of her children; yet the French bishops had not hesitated to bless it; for in the marriages of princes the strictness of ecclesiastical law often bent to political expediency.^c Robert, however, felt that, on account of this vulnerable point, it was his interest to stand well with Rome; and he despatched Abbo, abbot of Fleury, as an envoy to treat with the pope in a spirit of concession as to the case of Arnulph. Abbo took the opportunity of obtaining privileges for his monastery from the new pope, Gregory V.;^d he returned to France with a pall for Arnulph, and in 998 the archbishop was released, and was restored to his see, which had been miserably impoverished during the long contest for the possession of it.^e

But if Robert supposed that his consent to this restoration would induce the pope to overlook the irregularity of his marriage, he soon found that he was mistaken. A synod held at Rome in 998 required him and his queen, on pain of anathema, to separate, and to submit to penance;^f and it suspended the bishops who had officiated at the nuptials from communion until they should appear before the pope and make satisfaction for their offence.^g As to the sequel, it is only certain that Robert yielded, and that the place of Bertha was supplied by a queen of far less amiable character.^h Peter Damiani, in the following century, relates that Bertha gave birth to a monster with the head and neck of a goose; that the king and the queen were excommunicated by the whole episcopate of France; that the horror of this sentence scared all men from them, with the exception of two attendants; that even these cast the vessels out of which Robert or Bertha had eaten or drunk into the fire, as abominable; and that thus the guilty pair were terrified into a separation.ⁱ But the terror to which Robert really yielded was more probably a dread of the spiritual power of Rome and of the influence which, by uttering an interdict against the performance of religious offices, it might be able to exercise over his subjects; or it may be that, as is stated by the contemporary biographer of Abbo, he gave way to the persuasions of that abbot, who performed the part of a Nathan in convincing him of his sin.^k

These triumphs of the papacy were very important for it, following as they did after a time during which there had been little

^c Planck, iii. 331-2; Sismondi, iv. 104-6.

^d Aimoin. 11-2. ap. Mabill. viii.; Gerbert, Ep. 102, ap. Bouq. x. 424.

^e Abbo, Ep. iii. ap. Bouquet, x. 435.

^f Can. 1.

^g Can. 2.

^h Sismondi, iv. 106.

ⁱ P. Damian. Ep. xv. ad Desid. ap. Bouquet, x. 492.

^k Aimoin. Vit. Abbonis, ap. Bouquet, x. 107.

communication with France, while at home the papal see had been stained and degraded by so much of a disgraceful kind. They assured the popes that they had lost no power by the change of dynasty which had been effected without their sanction.^m And if, as has been supposed, the sternness with which Gregory insisted on the separation of Robert and Bertha was instigated by the wish of Otho to humiliate the French king, it is one of many proofs that the rise of the papacy to a superiority over all secular princes was mainly promoted by their attempts to use it as a tool in their jealousies and rivalries against each other.ⁿ The victory over the French episcopate was also important in consequence of the position which the popes took in the affair. They had already gained from the French church as much as was necessary for the particular case—that a metropolitan of France should not be deposed without the concurrence of the pope. This had been allowed by Hincmar himself; it had even been the subject of a petition from the council of Troyes in 867;^o it was acknowledged by Hugh Capet and his bishops, until the pope's neglect of their application provoked the inquiry whether they might not act without him. But, not content with this, the popes and their advocates claimed that right of exclusive judgment over all bishops which was asserted for the papacy by the false decretals; and the result was therefore far more valuable for their see.^p

The German pope^q died in February 999.^r It was a time of gloomy apprehensions. The approach of the thousandth year from the Saviour's birth had raised a general belief that the second Advent was close at hand; and in truth there was much which might easily be construed as fulfilling the predicted signs of the end—wars and rumours of wars, famines and pestilences, fearful appearances in the heavens, faith failing from the earth, and love waxing cold.^s In the beginning of the century (A.D. 909), the council of Trosley (Trosli, near Soissons)^t had urged the nearness of the end as a motive for reformation;^u and preachers had often

^m Planck, iii. 329-330

ⁿ *Ib.* 338.

^o See p. 313.

^p Planck, iii. 327-8.

^q The opinion that Gregory erected the college of seven German electors for the choice of emperor is now exploded. See Hard. vi. 745, seqq.; Pagi. xvii. 356; Planck, iii. 347-351; Giannone, i. xiii. c. 5.

^r There is a mystery about the end of Gregory. The Life of Meinwerc (ap.

Pertz, xi.) states that he was expelled, and, after his restoration, was poisoned, and this Luden thinks probable (vii. 306-7, 590). Comp. Schröckh, xxi. 315. Gfrörer argues that Gerbert must have been at the bottom of Gregory's death, as he was ambitious of the papacy, and got it on the vacancy I (iii. 1507). See Milman, ii. 482.

^s Michelet, ii. 358-361; Milman, ii. 483.

^t Pagi, xv. 551.

^u Hard. vi. 506.

insisted on it, although their opinion had met with objectors in some quarters.^x Many donations of the time to churches begin with the form "Whereas the end of the world draweth near;" and this belief did much to revive the power and wealth of the clergy, after the disorders and losses of the century.^y The minds of men were called away from the ordinary cares and employments of life; even our knowledge of history has suffered in consequence, since there was little inclination to bestow labour on the chronicling of events, when no posterity was expected to read the records.^z Some plunged into desperate recklessness of living;^a an eclipse of the sun or of the moon was a signal for multitudes to seek a hiding-place in dens and caves of the earth; and crowds of pilgrims flocked to Palestine, where the Saviour was expected to appear for judgment.^b

In the room of Gregory Otho raised to the papacy the man who had hitherto been its most dangerous opponent—Gerbert. Gerbert's learning and abilities had procured for him a great ascendancy over the mind of his imperial pupil,^c who in the preceding year had bestowed on him the archbishoprick of Ravenna.^d On attaining the highest dignity in the church, Gerbert assumed the name of Sylvester II.—a name significant of the relation in which he was to stand to a prince who aimed at being a second Constantine.^e For Otho, who lost his father at the age of three, had been trained by his Greek mother, and by his Italian grandmother, Adelaide, to despise his own countrymen as rude, to value himself on the Byzantine side of his extraction, and to affect a Greek and Roman cultivation.^f He introduced into his court the ceremonies of Constantinople.^g On revisiting Germany, he carried

^x Ampère, iii. 275. Abbo of Fleury says that he had heard such preaching, but had opposed it on the authority of the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the book of Daniel (Bouquet, x. 322). Gieseler dates this statement about 990 (II. i. 263), and Sismondi seems to be mistaken in saying that Abbo did not warn against the error until the danger was over, in 1001. iv. 87.

^y Gieseler, II. i. 268; Sismondi, iv. 88. But see Milman, ii. 483-4. and his reference to Dr. Todd's Donellan Lectures.

^z Sismondi, iv. 86-7.

^a Hock, 135.

^b Mosheim, ii. 293; Gieseler, II. i. 268-9.

^c Herm. Contract. A.D. 1000.

^d Gregory's letter, on sending him

the pall, is in Hard, vi. 740. Hüder groundlessly says that it proves the archbishoprick to have been given by the pope, and not by the imperial patronage (i. 159). Gfrörer, of course, has his theories, iii. 1502.

^e Milman, ii. 496.

^f Schmidt, ii. 71; Luden, vii. 266. There is a legend that his mother, Theophano, after death appeared to a nun, "in habitu miserabili," and declared that she was in torment for having introduced into the West Greek luxuries of female attire before unknown. Othon. Visio 17 (Pertz, xi. 385).

^g Thietmar, iv. 29. Dr. Pertz has found curious proofs of this at Rome, Gieseler, II. i. 221.

with him a number of noble Romans, with a view of exhibiting to his countrymen a refinement to which they had been strangers; he even entertained the thought of making Rome the capital of his empire.^h

The new pope, in order, as it would seem, to reconcile his present position with his earlier career, granted to Arnulph of Rheims the pall and all the other privileges which had been connected with the see.ⁱ It was thus made to appear as if Arnulph had been guilty, and as if his restoration were an act of grace on the part of the rival who had formerly been obliged to give way to him. Arnulph held the archbishoprick until the year 1123.

Sylvester's pontificate was not eventful. He had the mortification of being foiled by Willigis, archbishop of Mentz, a prelate of great influence, both from his position as primate of Germany and from his abilities as a politician.^k The contest arose, it is said, out of the pride of the emperor's sister Sophia, who, being about to enter the nunnery of Gandersheim, disdained to receive the veil from any prelate of less than metropolitan dignity.^m Willigis was therefore invited to officiate at Gandersheim, and not only did so, but even held a synod there. Osdag, bishop of Hildesheim, within whose diocese the convent was situated, complained of these invasions, and for a time the matter was accommodated in his favour;ⁿ but Willigis again interfered with the rights of the bishop's successor, Bernard, and a synod held at Rome, in the presence of the pope and of the emperor, decided that Bernard should exercise the rights of diocesan over the community, but left the further settlement of the case to a synod which was to be assembled in Germany, under the presidency of a papal legate.^o This synod met in 1001, at Palithi or Pölde in Saxony. The archbishop, seeing that its feeling was against him, assumed a tone of insolent defiance towards the legate, broke up the session by means of his

^h Schmidt, ii. 68; Hock, 137. Otho is said, on the elevation of Gerbert, to have granted a charter, by which, rejecting the fabulous donations of Constantine and others, he states that, as he had raised his tutor (*magister*) to the papacy, so, for the love of him, he bestows certain territories on St. Peter (Pertz, Leges, ii. 162, seq.). The document has been much questioned, and (as by Pagi, xvi. 391) has been supposed to be a forgery in the antipapal interest, executed not earlier than the time of the disputes as to investitures. It is, however, defended by Pertz,

Leges, ii. App. 162; Gfrörer, ii. 1571; and Gieseler, II. i. 221.

ⁱ Gerb. Ep. cvi. ap. Bouquet, x. 425; or Hard. vi. 760. Pagi (xvi. 397), Planck (iii. 325) and others, suppose the letter to be one of Gregory V., wrongly ascribed to his successor. But the explanation given in the text seems to be the true one. See Neander, vi. 42; Höfer, i. 111.

^k See Hock, 68; Gfrörer, iv. 72.

^m Thangmar. Vita S. Bern. Hildesh. c. 15, ap. Mabill. viii.

ⁿ *Ib.*

^o Thangmar, 24.

disorderly adherents, and had disappeared when the council re-assembled on the following day. As the influence of Willigis appeared to render a fair trial hopeless in Germany, it was resolved to summon all the bishops of that country to attend a council in Italy; but, although the emperor, who needed the aid of their followers to reinforce his army, joined in the citation, so powerful were their fears of the primate that hardly any of them appeared. The pope found himself obliged to adjourn the consideration of the question; and on the death of Otho, which followed soon after, the power of Willigis was so much enhanced by the importance attached to his voice in the choice of a new emperor, that Sylvester did not venture to prosecute the matter.^p In 1007 the controversy was determined in favour of the see of Hildesheim; but by the authority of the emperor Henry without the aid of the pope.^q It was, however, again revived, and was not finally settled until 1030, when Aribio, archbishop of Mentz, acknowledged to Godehard, of Hildesheim, that his pretensions against the diocesan jurisdiction had been unfounded.^r

The pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land were subjected to much oppression and annoyance by its Musulman rulers, and frequent complaints of their sufferings were brought into western Christendom. By these reports Sylvester was excited to issue a letter addressed in the name of Jerusalem to the universal church,^s beseeching all Christians to sympathise with the afflictions of the holy city, and to aid it by gifts, if they could not do so by arms. The letter was not without effect in its own time; some enterprises were in consequence undertaken against the Saracens;^t but the great movement of the crusades, of which it gave the first suggestion, was reserved for a later generation.

The young emperor appears to have fallen into a state of melancholy. He had been shaken by the deaths of his cousin Gregory, of his aunt Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, who in his absence carried on the government of Germany, and of other relations, which left him without any near kindred except two young sisters. He may have been touched by regret for the cruelties which had been committed in his name; perhaps the millenary year may have

^p Thangmar, 28-30; Planck, iii. 354-365.

^q Annal. Hildesh. 1007, ap. Pertz, iii. 93; Thangmar, 40-1.

^r Annal. Hild. 1030, p. 97; Vita S. Godeh. c. 31, ap. Mabill. viii.

^s Ep. cvii. ap. Bouquet, x. 426.

^t A fleet, fitted out by Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles, recovered Sardinia from them (Heeren, Hist. Werke, ii. 130): see p. 410; but the story of a Pisan expedition to Syria is fabulous, Sybel, Der erste Kreuzzug, 541.

aided in filling his mind with gloomy impressions." He secluded himself at Rome for fourteen days, which he spent in prayer and fasting; he then undertook a penitential pilgrimage to Monte Gargano;^x and, still feeling himself unable to rest, he crossed the Alps, and made his way to Gnesen in Poland, the burial place of Adalbert, formerly bishop of Prague. There he appeared as a penitent at the tomb of one whom he had known at Rome, whose exhortations he had probably often disregarded, but who had since found the death of a martyr among the heathens of Prussia, and was now acknowledged as a saint.^y He then visited Aix-la-Chapelle, where he opened the tomb of Charlemagne; and in 1001 he returned to Rome, where he founded a church in honour of St. Adalbert.^z An insurrection took place, and Otho was besieged in his palace.^a It is said that from the walls he indignantly reproached the Romans for their unworthy requital of the favours which he had shown them, even to the prejudice of his own countrymen; that he received the eucharist with the intention of sallying forth, but that he was restrained by the exertions of his friends.^b The short remainder of his days was spent in penitential exercises, while he cherished the intention of raising his feudatories for the punishment of the ungrateful Romans; but he died at Paterno, on Jan. 24, 1002.^c The German chroniclers in general attribute his death to small-pox. But a later^d story, of Italian origin, has recommended itself to some eminent writers^e—less perhaps by its probability than by its romantic character. Stephania, it is said, the beautiful widow of Crescentius, provoked by her husband's wrongs and her own^f to a desire of deadly vengeance, enticed the young emperor to her embraces, and, by means of a pair of gloves, administered to him a subtle poison,^g which dried up the sources of his strength, and brought him to the grave at the age of twenty-two. In him became extinct the Saxon line which had ruled over Germany from the time of Henry the Fowler, and which for three generations had filled the imperial throne.

^u Luden, vii. 308-310.

^x Höfler, i. 180.

^y Thietmar, iv. 28; Luden, vii. 313. For Adalbert, see chap. vii. sect. 5.

^z Höfler, i. 181.

^a Thietmar, iv. 30.

^b See Schmidt, i. 70; Luden, vii. 322, and notes.

^c Thietmar, iv. 30; Pagi, xvi. 418. Bonizo says that he died without the viaticum, and "was buried in hell." l. iv. p. 800.

^d See Hoek, 140. It is told, but vaguely, in the Life of Meinwerk. c. 7. (Pertz, xi.)

^e Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 111; Milman, ii. 497-8. See the various accounts in Luden, vii. 323-5, and notes.

^f "Traditur adulteranda Teutonibus," Arnulph. Mediolan. i. 12 (Pertz, viii.)

^g Landulph, senior (ii. 19, ap. Pertz, viii.), says that she wrapped him in a poisoned deer-skin.

Within little more than a year, Sylvester followed his pupil to the grave.^h On him, too, it is said that the vengeance of May, 1003. Stephania wreaked itself by a poison which destroyed his voice, if it did not put an end to his life. But a more marvellous story is told by the zealous partisans of the see which he had so strongly opposed in its assumptions, and which he had himself at length attained. To the authentic accounts of his acquirements and of his mechanical skill they add that he dealt in unhallowed arts, acquired from a book which he had stolen from one of his Saracen teachers. He understood, it is said, the flight and language of birds; he discovered treasures by magic; he made a compact with the devil for success in all his undertakings; he fabricated, under astral influences, a brazen head, which had the power of answering questions affirmatively or negatively. To his question, "Shall I be apostolic pontiff?" it answered, "Yes." When he further asked, "Shall I die before I sing mass in Jerusalem?" the answer was "No." But, as is usual in such legends, the evil one deluded his victim; the Jerusalem in which Gerbert was to die was a Roman basilica, which still bears the name of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.ⁱ

^h Milman, ii. 499.

ⁱ Will. Malmesb. 283; Benno de Vita Hildebr. ap. Goldast. Apol. Hen. IV. p. 11. The various legends of this kind are collected by Hock. William of Malmesbury says that Gerbert went on without thinking of repentance, because he was not likely to go to Jerusalem;

but his letter to the universal church might suggest an alternative in keeping with the ambitious character ascribed to him—that, if his soul were required of him, it would not be until he had rendered his pontificate memorable by the recovery of the Holy Land.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE SYLVESTER II. TO THE COUNCIL OF SUTRI.

A.D. 1003-1046.

I. THE unexpected death of Otho III. left his wide dominions without an heir, nor had any successor been provided. After much negotiation, Henry, duke of Bavaria, descended from a brother of Otho the Great, was chosen as king of Germany—June, chiefly through the influence of Archbishop Willigis, by 1002. whom he was crowned at Mentz.^a Henry, who is usually styled the Second,^b had been intended by his parents for the ecclesiastical state,^c and was a prince of very devout character, so that he attained the honour of canonisation; but his piety was not of a kind to unfit him for the active duties of his position. He governed with ability and vigour in the midst of much opposition and many difficulties, until the year 1024. In illustration of the mixture of saint and statesman in him, we are told that on one occasion he appeared before the abbot of St. Vanne, at Verdun, in his Lotharingian dominions, and expressed a resolution to become a monk. The abbot, after some consideration, admitted him as a member of his own community, and immediately charged him, by his vow of monastic obedience, to return to the administration of the empire which had been committed to him by God.^d

The Italians, on the death of Otho, hastily set up a king of their own, Harduin, marquis of Ivrea. But his power was controlled by the quarrels of various parties, which were too much set on their own private interests to combine in any policy for their common country. While the nobles of Italy were desirous of national independence, as being most favourable to their class, the prelates and clergy in general preferred the rule of a German sovereign, as less likely to interfere with their own power than that of a nearer neighbour.^e Harduin incurred the detestation of the clergy, not only by such oppressions as were usual, but by acts of savage personal violence

^a Thietmar, iv. 34; Pagi, xvi. 421; Schmidt, ii. 72-4; Gfrörer, iv. 16.

^b He was so as king of Germany, but the first as emperor.

^c Annalista Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 686.

^d Miracula B. Richardi, c. 8, ap. Mabillon, viii. Peter Damiani relates that

a monk saw this abbot after death toiling in the erection of lofty buildings—a punishment for the too great indulgence of his architectural taste. ib. p. 465.

^e Schmidt, ii. 235-6; Laden, vii. 361.

against bishops who refused to comply with his will.^f To these disagreements was added the rivalry between the two chief towns of northern Italy—Milan, the residence of the later Roman emperors, and Pavia, the capital of the Lombard kingdom. That Harduin had been set up at Pavia ensured him the opposition of the Milanese, headed by their archbishop, Arnulph, who in 1004 invited Henry into Italy.^g Harduin found himself deserted by most of his adherents, who flocked to the German standard. Henry was crowned ^{May 15,} as king of Italy at Pavia; but the popular abhorrence ^{1004.} of the Germans displayed itself, as usual, in the form of an insurrection. On the very night after the coronation, Henry found himself besieged in his palace. The Germans, in order to divert the attack, set fire to the neighbouring houses. Henry's troops, who were at some distance from the city, were recalled by the sight of the flames, and the rising was suppressed; but a great part of the city had been destroyed, and Henry recrossed the Alps with a feeling of disgust and indignation against his Italian subjects.^h Harduin renewed his pretensions, but in 1012 was compelled by a second expedition of Henry to abdicate; and, after a vain attempt to recover his power, he ended his days in a monastery—the last Italian who pretended to the crown of Lombardy.ⁱ

In the meanwhile the Roman factious had taken advantage of the difficulties in which the Germans were involved. John, a son or brother of Crescentius,^k for some years governed Rome with the title of Patrician, and at the head of a republican administration.^m It would seem that to him three popes, who filled the chair from 1004 to 1012, were indebted for their elevation.ⁿ But on the death of Sergius IV. in 1012, the disposal of the papacy was disputed by another party, headed by the counts of Tusculum, who, like the Crescentians, were descended from Alberic and Marozia.^o The Tusculan party set up a pope named Benedict, whom they contrived to maintain against all opposition. Gregory, the popular or Crescentian pope, was expelled from the city, and set off to implore the aid of Henry.^p The king was not unwilling to have a

^f See the Life of Henry by Adelbold, who styles Harduin "episcopocida." Pertz, iv. 687; Luden, vii. 361.

^g Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 70, 253-4.

^h Thietmar, vi. 6; Luden, vii. 375.

ⁱ Luden, vii. 430.

^k See Luden, vii. 408.

^m Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 112.

ⁿ The last of these, Sergius IV., was before called *Bucca Porci*, or *Os Porci* (Thietmar, vi. 61), and, on his election,

discarded the uncomely name. He has been confounded with Sergius II. (A.D. 844), to whom the first example of such a change of name has consequently been referred. But the earliest real instance was that of Octavian or John XII. (p. 388). See Schröckh, xxii. 322.

^o Milman, ii. 501.

^p There has been much dispute as to the meaning of a passage in Thietmar, vi. 61 — whether Benedict drove out Gregory,

pretext for going to Rome, where he was received with the greatest honours, and was made advocate of the church, which he swore Feb. 14, faithfully to protect. But the visit resulted in the establish-
1014. ment not of Gregory, but of his rival Benedict, from whom Henry received the imperial crown.^a

Benedict VIII. enjoyed greater power than his immediate predecessors, who had been subordinate to the Crescentian family.^f His energy was displayed in opposition both to the Greeks (with whom the Crescentian party had been connected)^g and to the Saracens. He induced the Pisans to attack the Saracens in Sardinia, where the Christian inhabitants were oppressed and persecuted; and the result was that the island fell into the possession of the Pisans.^h When a Saracen chief sent Benedict a sack full of chestnuts, with a message that he would return at the head of a like number of warriors, the pope sent it back filled with grains of millet, telling the infidel that, if he were not content with the evil which he had already done, he should find an equal or greater multitude of men in arms, ready to oppose him.ⁱ In 1020 Benedict went into Germany, ostensibly for the consecration of the church of St. Stephen^x at Bamberg; but the journey had also the more secret object of asking for aid against the Saracens. The emperor once more led his troops into Italy, and delivered Rome from its danger by the overthrow of the enemy.^y

A new power had lately appeared in the south of Italy. The Normans had caught up with peculiar enthusiasm the prevailing

or Gregory drove out Benedict. But the second supposition (although supported by Luden, vii. 617-9), implies an almost inconceivable awkwardness in the chronicler's language, while there is no need to assume that the claimant who applied to Henry was the same whom he eventually supported. See Schröckh, xxii. 322-3; note on Mosheim, ii. 328; Gfrörer, iv. 87; Jaffé, 356.

^g Thietmar, vi. 61; vii. 1; Schröckh, xxii. 321. Henry is said to have asked why the Nicene Creed was not sung in the mass, and was told that the Roman Church, having been always orthodox, did not need so to use it. But by his desire it was introduced. The answer is inconsistent with the explanation proposed by Martene (i. 138)—that the creed was *said*, though not *sung*. It is more probable that the omission arose out of the controversy as to *Filioque* in the time of Charlemagne (see p. 161); Schröckh, xxii. 324-5.

^f Gfrörer, iv. 92.

^h Ib. 122.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxii. 326.

^j Thietmar, vii. 31.

^k Not, as some writers say, of the cathedral—that having been consecrated in 1011. Pagi, xvi. 469.

^l Annal. Quæd. 1020; Vita Henrici, cc. 25, seqq. ap. Pertz, iv.; Gfrörer, iv. 126. It was probably at Bamberg, that Henry granted a charter which has sometimes been referred to his visit to Rome in 1014. By this the donations of former emperors are confirmed, and the new see of Bamberg, with the abbey of Fulda, specially made over to the pope, while it is provided that the pope is to be chosen in the presence of the imperial commissioners (Pertz, Leges, App. 174); Schröckh (xxii. 323-4) and Planck (iii. 373) speak of it as certainly spurious; but Pertz and Gfrörer (iv. 12) suppose it to be only interpolated. Gieseler gives no opinion, II. i. 224. On the date, see Pagi and Mansi, xvi. 516.

passion for pilgrimages. Companies of them—usually armed, for defence against the dangers of the way—passed through France and Italy, and, after visiting Monte Gargano, which was famous for an appearance of the archangel Michael, they took ship from the southern harbours of the peninsula for the Holy Land.² Early in the eleventh century, a body of about forty Norman pilgrims, who had returned from the east in a vessel belonging to Amalfi, happened to be at Salerno when the place was attacked by a Saracen force. The prince, Guaimar, was endeavouring to raise the means of buying off the infidels; but the Normans, after expressing their indignation at the cowardice of the inhabitants, begged him to furnish them with arms, sallied forth against the enemy, and by their example roused the spirit of the Greeks to resistance. The prince rewarded their aid with costly presents, and offered them inducements to remain with him; they declined the invitation; but, at his request, undertook to make his circumstances known in their own country.³ The sight of the rich and unknown fruits of the south, of the silken dresses and splendid armour which they carried home, excited the adventurous spirit of the Normans. A chief named Osmond, or Drengot, who was on uneasy terms with his duke,⁴ resolved to go into Italy with all his family. He waited on the pope, who advised him to attack the Greeks of Apulia, and, before reaching Monte Gargano, the band was increased to the number of about a hundred warriors.⁵ These adventurers entered into the service of the neighbouring princes and republics,⁶ mixed in their quarrels, and aided them, although not with uniform success, against the Saracens and the Greeks. They were reinforced by outlaws of the neighbourhood, and by fresh migrations of their countrymen; they obtained grants from Henry and from the government of Naples, founded and fortified the town of Aversa in 1029, and established themselves as an independent power, with a territory which was divided into twelve counties—their chief bearing the title of duke of Apulia.⁷ But they soon displayed the habits of robbers, and were at war with all around them. Churches and monasteries were especial sufferers from their rapacity.⁸

² Giannone, ii. 174.

³ Giannone, ii. 175-6; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 171.

⁴ Guil. Gemet. vii. 30, ap. Bouquet, xi. 49; Order. Vital. ii. 53-5, and Le Prevost's note.

⁵ Glaber Rad. iii. 1; Sismondi, iv. 161-2.

⁶ "Nunc hoc, nunc illo contempto, plus tri-
buenti
Semper adhaerebant, servire libentius illi
Omnes gaudebant a quo plus accipiebant."
Gul. Appulus, l. 141-4; ap. Peitz, ix.

⁷ Ib. 165-187; Giannone, ii. 200.

⁸ Gul. App. i. 232; Rad. Glaber, iii. 1; Gibbon, v. 326, seqq.; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 173-4.

Both Henry and Benedict died in 1024. The Tusculans filled the papacy with a brother of the deceased pope named John, in whose favour they bought the suffrages of the Romans with a large sum of money—a proceeding which the strength which they had acquired would have rendered unnecessary, but that John was a layman.^g As Henry was childless, the empire was again without an heir. The choice of the electors fell on Conrad of Franconia, who was descended from a daughter of Otho the Great,^h and is styled *the Salic*, probably in order to signify that he sprang from the noblest race of the Franks.ⁱ A difficulty was raised by some bishops on the ground that Conrad had contracted a marriage within the fifth degree; he was even required to renounce either his wife or the dignity to which he was chosen. But he firmly refused to consent to a separation, and his queen was crowned at Cologne by the archbishop, Pilgrin, who, after having joined in the opposition, requested that he might be allowed to perform the ceremony.^k The election of Conrad was justified by a course of government which occasioned the saying that his throne stood on the steps of Charlemagne.^m

It was now considered that the kingdom of Italy depended on Germany, and that the German sovereign was entitled to the empire, but was not actually emperor until crowned at Rome.ⁿ In 1026, Conrad was crowned as king of Italy at Milan, by the archbishop, Heribert.^o The pope met him at Como, and, after suppressing a formidable insurrection at Ravenna, he arrived at Rome, where he received the imperial crown on Easter-day, 1027.^p The ceremony was rendered more imposing by the presence of two kings—Canute, of England and Denmark,^q who had undertaken a pilgrimage, and returned with a grant of privileges for the English church; and Rodolph, of Provence, to whose dominions Conrad succeeded in 1032, by virtue of a compact which had been made between the king and the late emperor.^r Conrad then proceeded into the south, where he received the oath of fealty from the local

^g Rad. Glab. iv. 1; Planck, iii. 370.

^h Pagi, xvi. 546.

ⁱ Schmidt, ii. 231-4.

^k Wippo, Vita Chuonradi, c. 2, ap.

Pertz, xi.; Stenzel, i. 8-14; Luden, viii.

17-24.

^m "Sella Chuonradi habet ascensoria

Caroli;" or,

"Chuonradus Caroli premit ascensoria regis."

Wippo, 6.

ⁿ Pagi, xvi. 558; Hallam, M. A. i. 22-4. Henry II., until crowned by the

pope, styled himself *King of the Romans*.

Luden, viii. 45.

^p Wippo, 13-6.

^q He was not yet king of Norway.

Thorpe, n. on Flor. Vigorn. i. 185.

^r Wilkins, i. 297.

^s Rodolph for a time attempted to set aside the compact, on the ground that it had been made with Henry, not as king of the Germans, but as his nephew and natural heir. Luden, viii. 32.

princes, bestowed fresh grants on the Normans, and took measures for organising a resistance to the Greeks.[†]

On the death of John, in 1033, the Tusculan party appointed to the papedom his cousin Theophylact, a boy of ten or twelve years of age.^u But this extravagant stretch of their power resulted in its overthrow. The young pope, who styled himself Benedict IX., appeared to be intent on renewing the worst infamies of the preceding century; his shameless debaucheries, although they have been questioned, are established on the testimony of one of his successors—Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who in 1086 ascended the papal chair as Victor III.^x

Conrad had chiefly owed his Italian kingdom to the influence of Heribert archbishop of Milan, who had opposed the attempt of the nobles to set up a French rival, Odo of Champagne.^y The archbishop relied on the interest which he had thus established, and, elated by his spiritual dignity, by his secular power, and by the success which had attended his undertakings, he behaved with great violence in the commotions of the country.^z These had become very serious. While the nobles cried out against the bishops, their own retainers, or *valvassors*, rose against them; bloody conflicts took place, and Conrad, at Heribert's invitation, again went into Italy for the purpose of investigating the cause of the troubles.^a The nobles charged the archbishop with having deprived many of them of their fiefs, and having excited their vassals against them; and the prelate, instead of clearing himself, addressed the emperor with such insolence, that an order was given for his arrest. No Italian would dare to touch him; but the Germans were less scrupulous, and he was carried off as a prisoner.^b The national feeling of the Italians was shocked by such an act against so eminent a prince of the Church; even Heribert's enemies shared in the general indignation and alarm, while his partisans, by means of the clergy and monks, industriously agitated the multitudes. Long trains of penitents, in sackcloth and ashes, swept solemnly through the streets, and filled the churches with their litanies, imploring St. Ambrose to deliver his flock.^c The guardians to whose care Heribert had been committed allowed him to escape; he returned to Milan, and held

[†] Wippo, 17; Luden, viii. 54.

^u Baron. 1033. 5-8.

^x Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853.

^y Wippo, 7; Arnulph. Mediol. ii. 2, ap. Pertz, viii.

^z Arnulph. ii. 10; Stenzel, i. 59.

^a Wippo, 34; Arnulph. ii. 12.

^b Landulph. sen. ii. 22; Stenzel, i. 61; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 77-8; Luden, viii. 111-6.

^c Landulph. ii. 22.

out the city against the emperor, who, finding himself unable to take it, desolated the surrounding country.^d The emperor found it convenient to ally himself with pope Benedict, who had lately been expelled by the Romans, and whom, in other circumstances, he would have avoided with disgust; an anathema was uttered against Heribert for his rebellion, and the pope sanctioned the nomination of one of the imperial chaplains to the see of Milan.^e But both clergy and people adhered to Heribert, who now offered the crown of Italy to Odo of Champagne. The tempting proposal induced Odo to relinquish an expedition which he had made into Conrad's Lotharingian territory, and to set out towards the Alps; but he was intercepted and killed by Gozzelo, duke of Lorraine, and the emperor became undisputed master of Lombardy.^f The pope, in reward for his services, was conducted to Rome and re-instated in his office by Conrad; and the vices which he had before displayed were now rendered more odious by the addition of tyrannical cruelty towards those who had opposed him.^g

After having again visited the south of Italy, the emperor returned to Germany, with health shaken by a sickness which had been fatal to many of his followers. Heribert found means of once more establishing himself in Milan, and held the see, although not without much disquiet, until his death in 1045.^h Conrad died at Utrecht in the spring of 1039.ⁱ The last months of his life had been spent in visiting various parts of his dominions; and at Arles, in the autumn of 1038, he republished a law which he had before promulgated at Milan, and which became the foundation of the feudal law of Europe—that the inferior vassals, instead of being removable at the will of their lords, should possess a hereditary tenure, which was only to be forfeited in case of felony established by the judgment of their equals.^k

In 1044 Benedict was again driven from Rome, and a rival, John, bishop of Sabino, who took the name of Sylvester III., was set up in his room. After three months, however, Benedict was able to expel his rival; and—induced, according to one account,

^d Herm. Contract. A.D. 1037, ap. Pertz, v.; Wippo, 35; Arnulph. ii. 13-4.

^e Herm. Contr. A.D. 1038; Annal. Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 680-1.

^f Herman. A.D. 1037; Arnulph. ii. 14.

^g Luden, viii. 127, 193; Gfrörer, iv. 384.

^h Arnulph. ii. 15-20. Wippo says

that Henry III. disapproved of his father's proceedings against the archbishop, 35.

ⁱ Wippo, 39.

^k Giannone, ii. 189; Sismondi, iv. 228; Luden, viii. 121. The enactment of Milan is referred by some to 1026, but was more probably in 1037. See Sismondi, R. I. i. 74; Hallam, M. A. i. 118.

by love for the daughter of a nobleman who refused to allow the marriage except on condition of his vacating the papacy—he sold his interest in it to John Gratian, a presbyter who enjoyed a high reputation for austerity of life. But Benedict was disappointed in his love, and resumed his pretensions to the see, so that Rome was divided between three popes—"three devils," as they are styled by an unceremonious writer of the century^m—who were established respectively at St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, and St. Mary Major.ⁿ Benedict was supported by the Tusculan party, Sylvester by a rival faction of nobles, while Gratian, who had assumed the name of Gregory VI., was the pope of the people.^o The state of things was miserable; revenues were alienated or intercepted, churches fell into ruin, and disorders of every kind prevailed.^p

That Gregory was regarded with ardent hope by the reforming party in the church appears from a letter written on his elevation by Peter Damiani, a person who became very conspicuous in the later history of the time.^q But it is said that the urgency of circumstances obliged him to devote himself to expeditions against the Saracens and the robber chiefs who impoverished the Roman treasury by plundering pilgrims of the gifts intended for it; and that on this account the Romans provided him with an assistant for the spiritual functions of his office.^r The scandalous condition

^m Benzo, IV. vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi. 670.

ⁿ Herrn. Contr. A.D. 1044; Bonizo, 801; Desiderius (Victor III.) Dial. iii. Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853; Döllinger, i. 432; Luden, viii. 636; Milman, ii. 506, &c. Here again Bayle's remark, quoted at p. 394, will apply. Otto of Freisingen (vi. 32, ap. Urstis. t. i.) says that, after three popes—Benedict, Sylvester, and a presbyter named John—were already set up, Gratian bought himself in as a fourth—allowing Benedict to retain the revenue from England. This story is followed by Baronius (1044. 11), and by Planck (iii. 381-6), but is generally considered erroneous (Pagi, xvi. 659; Gieseler, II. i. 226). Bonizo (801) places the setting up of Sylvester later than that of Gratian. Luden, who chiefly follows Bonizo, thinks that the nobles opposed to the Tusculan party, wishing to get rid of Benedict, fixed on John Gratian as the fittest person for the popedom; but that he, judging the time unfavourable to the interest of the nobles (more especially as Henry III. had just, in opposition to that class, promoted a clerk of humble birth to Milan), resolved to rely on the people, and bought their suffrages; that when Bene-

diet had been persuaded to retire (partly from a feeling of his unfitness for the office), John was chosen by the acclamation of the people; that the nobles, finding themselves deceived in him, set up Sylvester; and the Tusculans, conceiving from the rivalry of the other parties a hope of re-establishing their own interest, again put Benedict forward (viii. 193-4). Gröföer, as usual, has a theory—viz. that John Gratian was an instrument of the reforming monastic party, headed by Odilo of Cluny; and that the money which he spent was supplied by an association, founded by William, late duke of Aquitaine, which aimed at rendering the church independent of the secular power (iv. 387, 395-401). Jaffé dates the expulsion of Benedict within the first seven days of January, 1044; the setting-up of Sylvester, about Feb. 22; his expulsion by Benedict on April 10; the sale to Gratian, May 1.

^o Gröföer, iv. 385.

^p Döllinger, i. 433.

^q Ep. i. 1 (Opera, ed. Cajetan. Paris, 1663).

^r Malmesb. I. ii. c. 201; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 116. See Milman, ii. 507.

of affairs cried aloud for some remedy. Peter, archdeacon of Rome, went into Germany for the purpose of representing it to Henry III., the son and successor of Conrad, and induced him to intervene.⁸ The king resolved to set aside all the claimants of the apostolic chair,¹ and before setting out for Italy, he gave a token of the course which he intended to pursue by citing before him and depriving Widgers, who had been encouraged by the disorders of Rome to thrust himself into the archbishoprick of Ravenna.² At Parma he assembled a council, but, as no pope was present, the investigation into the claims of the rivals was adjourned.³ Gregory met the king at Piacenza, and at his desire summoned a second council to meet at Sutri.⁴ Neither Benedict nor Dec. 20, Sylvester appeared, although cited; the former, who had 1046.

retired to a monastery, was not mentioned in the proceedings; Sylvester was declared to be an intruder, was deposed from the episcopate and the priesthood, and condemned to be shut up in a cloister. Gregory, who presided over the council, and had perhaps shared in inviting Henry's interference, was then, to his astonishment, desired to relate the circumstances of his elevation. With the simplicity which is described as a part of his character,⁵ he avowed the use of bribery, which was perhaps too notorious to be denied; but he said that as, in consideration of his repute, large sums of money had been bestowed on him, which he had intended to expend on pious objects, he had been led to employ a part of them in this manner by a wish to rescue the holy see from the tyranny of the nobles, from its calamities and disgrace. Some members of the council suggested to him that the use of such means was unwarrantable. A new light broke in on the pope; he acknowledged that he had been deceived by the enemy, and requested the bishops to advise him.⁶ According to one account, they answered that he would do better to judge himself; he confessed himself unworthy of the papacy, and stripped off his robes in the presence of the council.⁷ Other writers state that he was warned to anticipate a deprivation by resigning; while, according to a third statement, he was deposed.⁸ Henry proceeded to fill the see with a pope of his own selection.

⁸ Bonizo, 801. The Saxon annalist xviii. 853). gives a rhyming prayer for intercession, as addressed to Henry by a hermit:—

^a Una Sumantis misit tribus maritis.

Rex Henrice, Omnipotens vice:

Solve connubium, triforne dubium!

Pertz, vi. 687.

^u Luden, viii. 197.

^x Döllinger, i. 433.

^y Bonizo, 801; Luden, viii. 200, 638.

^z Bonizo, 802. ^a Bonizo, 802.

^b Victor, Dial. 3 (Bibl. Pat. xviii. 853).

^c Hermann, A.D. 1046. See Nat.

^d Victor III. Dial. 3 (Bibl. Patr. Alex. xiii. 10; Planck, iii. 387-9;

II. The beginning of the eleventh century is remarkable for the appearance of heretical teachers in various parts of Italy and France. It would appear that the doctrines professed by some of these persons had long been lurking among the Italians, and that now the discredit into which the church had fallen combined with the general suffering and distraction of the time to draw them forth into publicity and to procure adherents for them.^d From the fact that Gerbert, at his consecration as archbishop of Rheims (A.D. 991), made a profession of faith in which he distinctly condemned (among other errors) some leading points of the Manichæan system,^e it has been inferred^f that heresy of a Manichæan character was then prevalent in some quarter; but perhaps it may be enough to suppose that the Manichæism which Gerbert wished to disavow was one of the many errors with which he was personally charged by the enmity or credulity of his contemporaries.^g The opinions which were now put forth were of various kinds. One Leutard, who about the year 1000 appeared in the neighbourhood of Châlons-sur-Marne, appears to have been a crazy fanatic. He professed to have received commands from heaven while sleeping in a field; whereupon he went home, put away his wife "as if by evangelic precept," and, going into a church, broke the cross and an image of the Saviour. He denounced the payment of tithes, and said that some parts of Scripture were not to be believed, although, when summoned before the bishop of the diocese, he alleged scriptural texts as evidence of his mission. For a time he found many proselytes; but the greater part of them were recovered by the bishop, and Leutard drowned himself in a well.^h In another quarter, Vilgard, a grammarian of Ravenna, who was put to death for his heresy, attempted a revival of the classical paganism—"that the doctrines of the poets were in all things to be believed;" and we are told that demons used to appear to him by night under the names of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal.ⁱ The historian from whom we derive our knowledge of Vilgard and Leutard relates also that paganism was very common in Sardinia, and that many professors of it went from that island into Spain, where they attempted to spread their opinions, but were driven out by the Catholics.^k

Schmidt, ii. 253; Döllinger, i. 433; Luden, viii. 202; Gieseler, II. i. 227; and the ingenious theories of Gfrörer, iv. 424.

^d Luden, viii. 103-4; Gieseler, II. i. 404; Neander, vi. 348.

^e Hard. vi. 725.

^f Hahn, i. 31.

^g Gieseler, II. i. 408.

^h Rad. Glab. ii. 11; Hahn, i. 31.

ⁱ Rad. Glab. ii. 12.

^k Ib.

A sect of Manichæans is said to have been detected in Aquitaine, in 1017,^m and in 1022ⁿ a more remarkable party of the same kind was discovered at Orleans. These are said to have derived their opinions from a female teacher,^o who came out of Italy and was so "full of the devil" that she could convert the most learned clerks.^p For a time the sect grew in secret. Its leaders were two clergymen named Stephen and Lisoï—both respected for their piety, their learning, and their charity, while Stephen was confessor to Constance, the queen whom Robert had espoused on his forced separation from Bertha. Among the proselytes were ten canons of the cathedral, and many persons of rank, not only in Orleans and its neighbourhood, but even in the royal court.^q

The discovery of these sectaries is variously related. The most circumstantial account^r ascribes it to Arefast, a Norman noble, who, having allowed a chaplain named Herbert to go to Orleans for the purpose of study, was startled by finding on his return that he had there imbibed new and heretical opinions. At the desire of king Robert, to whom he reported the matter, Arefast proceeded to Orleans for the purpose of detecting the heretics, and by the advice of a clergyman of Chartres, whom he consulted on the way, he affected to become a pupil of Stephen and Lisoï. They taught him that Christ had not really been born of the Virgin; that He had not really suffered, been buried, or risen; that baptism had no efficacy for washing away of sin; that priestly consecration did not make the sacrament of the Redeemer's body and blood; that it was needless to pray to martyrs or confessors.^s He asked by what means he might attain salvation, if those to which he had hitherto looked were unavailing. The teachers replied that they would bestow on him the imposition of their hands, which would cleanse him from all sin and fill him with the Holy Spirit, so that he should understand the Scriptures in their depth and true dignity; that they would give him heavenly food, by which he should be enabled to see visions and to enjoy fellowship

^m Hahn, i. 33. The council of Charroux (Carofense) against these sectaries (Hard. vi. 844) has been variously dated from 1017 to 1031. Pagi says that it was called by William of Aquitaine in 1028, on finding that they were again making head. xvi. 565.

ⁿ Gieseler, II. i. 408-10.

^o Ademar, iii. 59 (Pertz, iv.), says from a *rustic*. The accounts by Ra-

dulph the Bald, Ademar, and the unknown writer who is the chief authority on the subject, are given by Hardouin, vi. 821, seqq.

^p Rad. Glab. iii. 8.

^q Ibid.; Ademar, iii. 59. Radulph calls Stephen by the name of Herbert. ii. in Bouquet, x. 35.

^r Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 822.

^s Hard. vi. 823; Hahn, i. 36-7.

with God. By this mysterious food, which was represented as having the power to confirm disciples immoveably in the doctrines of the party, was doubtless meant something of a spiritual kind—the same with the *consolamentum* of somewhat later sectaries.^t But a wild story was imagined in explanation of it—that the heretics at some of their meetings recited a litany to evil spirits; that the devil appeared in the form of a small animal;^u that the lights were then extinguished, and each man embraced the woman nearest to him—even if she were his mother, his sister, or a consecrated nun. A child born of such intercourse was, at the age of eight days, burnt at a meeting of the sect; the ashes were preserved, to be administered under the name of “heavenly food;” and such was the potency of this “diabolical” sacrament that any one who received it became irrevocably bound to the sect.^x

Robert, on receiving information from Arefast, repaired to Orleans. The whole party of the sectaries was apprehended, and Arefast appeared as a witness against them. They avowed their doctrines, and expressed an assurance that these would prevail throughout the world. They professed to entertain views far above the apprehension of ordinary Christians—views taught to them inwardly by God and the Holy Spirit. They spoke with contempt of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the miraculous evidence of Scripture. They maintained that the heavens and the earth were eternal and uncreated. They appear to have also maintained that the sins of sensuality were not liable to punishment, and that the ordinary duties of religion and morality were superfluous and useless.^y

After a vain attempt to reclaim the sectaries, they were condemned to death. Such of them as were clerks were deposed and were stripped of their robes. Queen Constance, by her husband's desire, had stood on the steps of the church in which the trial was held, in order that her presence might restrain the populace from rushing in and tearing the accused to pieces. Bent on proving that her abhorrence of heresy prevailed over old personal attachment, she thrust her staff into one of her confessor's eyes as he was led out after condemnation. Two of the party, a clerk and a nun, recanted; thirteen remained steadfast and approached the place of

^t Neander, vi. 352.

^u Ademar says that the devil used to appear first as a negro, and then as an angel of light, and daily supplied the sectaries with money. iii. 59.

^x Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 824.

^y Rad. Glab. ap. Bouquet, x. 36;

Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 825. These authorities do not altogether agree. Some Protestant writers, as Basnage, have contended that, since the Orleans sectaries disparaged the Sacraments, they cannot have been wrong in any other point! See Schröckh, xxiii. 331.

execution with a smiling and triumphant air, in the expectation of deliverance by miracle. One historian of the time relates that, when the flames were kindled around them, yet no interposition took place, they cried out that the devil had deceived them;² according to another account, they retained their exultant demeanour to the last.^a Some dust which was supposed to be the "heavenly food" was thrown into the flames with them.^b The body of a canon named Theodatus, who had been a member of the sect but had died three years before, was taken from the grave and cast into unconsecrated ground.^c

In 1025, Gerard, bishop of Arras and Cambray, discovered in the former city some sectaries who professed to have received their opinions from an Italian named Gundulf. The bishop placed them before a council, and drew forth an acknowledgment of their doctrines. They denied the utility of baptism and of the Eucharist, resting their objections to baptism on three grounds—the unworthiness of the clergy; the fact that the sins which were renounced at the font were afterwards repeated; and the idea that an infant, being incapable of faith or will, could not be benefited by the profession of others. They were charged with denying the use of penance, with setting at nought the Church, with condemning marriage, with refusing honour to the confessors, and limiting it to apostles and martyrs alone. They held that churches were not more holy than other buildings; that the Lord's table and the cross were but like other wood. They condemned the distinction of orders and ranks in the ministry, the use of bells and of psalmody, and the practice of burying in churches, which they asserted that the clergy encouraged for the sake of fees. It would seem, also, that they denied the resurrection of the body.^d In answer to the bishop they professed that their opinions were scriptural; that their laws bound them to forsake the world, to abstain from fleshly lusts, to earn their maintenance by the work of their hands, to show kindness to those who opposed them. If they observed these rules, they had no need of baptism; if they neglected the rules, baptism could not profit them.^e

Gerard combated their opinions at great length; his argument was agreeable to the theology of the age, and, although we may smile at the miraculous legends which he adduced, we must honour

* Rad. Glab. ap. Bouquet, x. 38.

^a Ademar, iii. 59.

^b Anon. ap. Hard., vi. 826.

^c Ademar, iii. 59.

^d Schröckh, xxiii. 334, seqq.; Hahn, i. 41.

^e Schröckh, xxiii. 335.

the wisdom and good temper which he displayed in his general argument. He blamed them especially for holding an opinion of their own merits which was inconsistent with the doctrine of Divine grace.^f The sectaries, who appear to have been men of simple mind and of little education, were convinced. They prostrated themselves before the bishop, and expressed a fear that, since they had led others into error, their sin was beyond forgiveness. But he comforted them with hopeful assurances, and, on their signing a profession of orthodoxy, received them into the communion of the church.^g

Heresy of a similar character was also taught at Toulouse;^h and in 1044 Heribert, archbishop of Milan, when on a visitation of his province, discovered a sect at Monteforte near Turin.ⁱ The chief teacher of this sect was named Gerard; the countess of the place patronised it, and among its members were many of the clergy.^j When questioned as to his belief, Gerard gave orthodox answers; but on further inquiry it proved that these answers were evasive. The sectaries held that by the Son of God was meant the human soul, beloved by God and born of Holy Scripture; that the Holy Spirit was the understanding of divine things;^k that they might be bound and loosed by persons who were authorised for the work, but that these were not the clergy of the church. They said that they had a high priest different from the pontiff of Rome—a high priest who was not tonsured, besides whom there was no other high priest and no sacrament;^m that he daily visited their brethren who were scattered throughout the world, and that, when God bestowed him on them, they received forgiveness of all sin.ⁿ They had a peculiar hierarchy of their own; they lived rigidly, ate no flesh, fasted often, kept up unceasing prayer by alternate turns, and observed a community of goods. They inculcated the duty of virginity, living with their wives as mothers or sisters, and believed that, if all mankind would be content to live in purely spiritual union, the race would be propagated after the manner of bees.^o

^f Schröckh, 346; Hahn, i. 39-41.

^g Synod. Atrebat ap. Gieseler, II. i. 411-2.

^h Schröckh, xxiii. 327.

ⁱ Gieseler, II. i. 412-3. The account of this sect is taken from Landulph, ii. 27 (Pertz, viii.); that given by Radulph the Bald, under an earlier date (iv. 2), is considered by Neander to be fabulous. vi. 359.

^k Neander thinks that with these opinions the literal doctrine of the God-

head may also have been held. vi. 360.

^m "Non est alius pontifex, nec mysterium."

ⁿ Hahn (i. 45) supposes that a human priest was meant. Baur refers the description to Christ in the form of the sun, circling round the earth, according to the Manichean doctrine; Gieseler to the Holy Ghost (II. i. 413), which seems to agree best with the last words, and with "mysterium."

^o Hahn, i. 44.

They considered it desirable to suffer in this life in order to avert sufferings in the life to come; hence it was usual that those among them who had escaped outward persecution were tortured and put to death by their friends.

The members of the sect were seized and were removed to Milan. Attempts were ineffectually made to reclaim them; and the magistrates, on learning that they had endeavoured to gain converts among the country people, ordered them, although without the archbishop's consent, to be carried to a place outside the city, where they were required, on pain of burning, to bow to the cross and to profess the catholic faith. Almost all refused; they covered their eyes with their hands, and rushed into the fire which was prepared for them.

It is generally assumed by modern writers, on grounds which it is impossible to discover, that the statement of Heribert's freedom from any share in the fate of these unfortunate persons is untrue. But in another quarter, at least, a voice was raised by a bishop in behalf of Christian principle and humanity as to the treatment of religious error. Wazo, bishop of Liege, who died in 1048, received a letter from Roger bishop of Châlons, reporting the appearance of some heretics who avowed the doctrines of Manes, and supposed him to be the Holy Ghost. Among other things, Roger states that even the most uneducated persons, when perverted to this sect, became more fluent in their discourse than the most learned clerks; and he asks how he should deal with them. Wazo tells him in reply that forcible measures are inconsistent with our Lord's parable of the tares; that bishops do not at their ordination receive the sword; that their power is not that of killing but of making alive; that they ought to content themselves with excluding those who are in error from the Church, and preventing them from spreading the infection. The writer who has preserved the correspondence enforces this advice by the authority of St. Martin,^p and expresses a belief that the bishop of Tours would have strongly reprobated the punishment of some fanatics who were put to death at Goslar in 1052.^q

The origin of the sects which thus within a short period appeared in so many quarters is matter of doubt and controversy. The heretical parties north of the Alps for the most part professed to have received their opinions immediately from Italy; but it is asked whether they had been introduced into that country by Paulician

^p See vol. i. p. 268.

(Pertz, viii.). For the sectaries of Gos-

^q *Gesta Episcop. Leodiensium*, 62-4

lar, see *Herm. Contr.* A.D. 1052.

refugees, the offspring of the Paulicians who, in 969, had been transported by John Tzimiscees from Armenia to Thrace, and established as guards of the western frontiers of his empire, with permission to retain their religion;^r—or whether they were derived from the Manichæans who, as is supposed, had continued to lurk in Italy long after the vigorous measures which Leo the Great had used for the suppression of the sect.^s The avowal of the party of Monteforte, that they did not know from what part of the world they had come,^t which has been cited in behalf of the connexion with Paulicianism, appears rather to favour the opposite view, inasmuch as it would seem to imply not only a foreign origin (which was common to both Manichæans and Paulicians), but an establishment of their doctrines in Italy long before the recent time at which Paulicianism had been introduced into Europe. Moreover the sectaries of Monteforte differed from the Paulicians in the rejection of flesh and of marriage, in the system of their hierarchy, in maintaining the distinction between elect and hearers; and the sects in general paid honour to Manes, whereas the Paulicians anathematised him. The indistinctness with which the Manichæan tenets appear in some of the cases may be accounted for by supposing that the obscure followers of Manes, lurking in corners for centuries, were kept together rather by external observances than by any accurate knowledge of the system which they professed; while something must also be allowed for the defectiveness of the notices which have reached us. It seems, therefore, possible that the new heretics may have derived their opinions from the Manichæans; and, according to the advocates of this view, it was not until the East had been brought into communication with the West by the crusades that the Western sectaries learnt to trace a likeness between themselves and the Paulicians, which, by means of fabulous inventions, was then referred to a supposed connexion in earlier times. But there seems to be a deficiency of proof for the supposition that the Manichæan sect had continued to exist in Italy—the only evidence of its existence after the time of Gregory the Great being apparently the mention of some heretics who are styled Arians, but *may* have been Manichæans, at Padua in the tenth century.^u

^r See Gibbon, v. 281; Anna Comnena, in Gieseler, II. i. 400.

^s Mosheim (ii. 391), Gibbon (iv. 283), Schröckh (xxiii. 334, 345), and Dr. Maitland (Facts and Documents relating to the Albigenses and Waldenses, Lond. 1832, sect. iv.), advocate the theory of a

connexion with the Paulicians. Gieseler takes the opposite side (II. i. 405). Others suggest the Priscillianists or the Euchites (ib.; Neander, vi. 348).

^t Laudolph. ii. 28, p. 66.

^u Dr. Maitland says (p. 89) that he can find no Manichæans in Europe for

In the East also the beginning of the eleventh century was marked by the rise or by the increased activity of some heretical sects—as the Athinggani, the Children of the Sun, and the Euchites; but their influence was so limited that it is unnecessary here to give any particular account of them.*

more than 400 years before the affair at Orleans. The only evidence which Gieseler produces is the continued denunciation of Manichæans in the commission given to bishops. But it is clear that this was merely a form retained after the cause of it had passed away (see above, p. 98, note †); and, moreover, it describes the Manichæans not as

Italians but as Africans. The mention of the Paduan heretics is taken from Höfler (i. 211-2); they were discovered by a bishop named Peter (A.D. 919-922), and were extinguished by one of his successors, Gauzelin, half a century later.

* See for these sects Neander, vi. 341-7; Gieseler, II. i. 401-3.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BRITISH CHURCHES — MISSIONS OF THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

I. THE most remarkable subject in the religious history of England between the death of Alfred and the Norman conquest is the struggle between the monks and the secular clergy. The distaste for monachism which had grown up among the Anglo-Saxons has been mentioned in a former chapter.^a The long-continued invasions of the Danes contributed to the decline of English monachism, not only by laying waste a multitude of religious houses and butchering or dispersing their inmates, but by compelling men to study almost exclusively the arts of self-preservation and self-defence.^b The monastic life became extinct in England; and when Alfred attempted to revive it by founding a monastery for men at Athelney and one for women at Shaftesbury, it was found that, although Shaftesbury prospered under the government of one of the king's own daughters, no Englishman of noble or free birth could be persuaded to embrace the monastic life; and Alfred was obliged to stock his establishment at Athelney with monks and children from abroad.^c

In some of the religious houses which had suffered from the Danish ravages, a new class of inmates established themselves. Perhaps (as has been suggested), many of them were persons who had belonged to those inferior orders of the clergy which were not bound to celibacy. Such persons may, in the scarcity of other clerks, have been raised by bishops to the higher degrees without requiring them to forsake their wives; and the practice thus begun may have been extended to a general neglect of enforcing celibacy on the ministers of the church.^d The result was, that the monastic churches were occupied by a married clergy, among whom, without too literally understanding the gross accusations of their enemies, we may believe that there was much of irregularity and of worldly-mindedness.^e The monastic life, properly so called, was no longer followed in England; the Englishmen who wished to lead such a

^a P. 208.^b Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 259.^c Asser, 473-5.^d Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 252-4.^e See Kemble, ii. 454-7.

life either withdrew to lonely hermitages or betook themselves to foreign monasteries, among which that of Fleury was the most favourite resort.^f Such was the state of things when Dunstan entered on his career of reform.

This remarkable man was born of noble parentage in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury about the year 925. Glastonbury enjoyed a peculiar veneration, not only on account of the legends which connected it with the first preaching of Christianity in Britain by Joseph of Arimathea,^g but also from later associations. The fame of St. Patrick was fabulously connected with the place;^h and it was much frequented by Irish, some of whom lived there in the practice of strict devotion, although not bound by any monastic rule, and drew a large number of pupils from the surrounding country. Under these masters Dunstan became a proficient in the learning of the time, and acquired extraordinary accomplishments in calligraphy, painting, sculpture, music, mechanics, and the art of working in metals, so that his skill and ingenuity brought on him the charge of magic.ⁱ His earlier history abounds in details of rigid asceticism, in tales of strange miracles, of encounters with devils, and of fierce mental conflicts.^k He was introduced at the court of king Edmund, who bestowed on him the church of Glastonbury, with a grant of new privileges, and Dunstan erected a magnificent abbey, which he filled with Benedictine monks—the first of their kind who had been seen in England for two hundred years.^l He acquired high office and powerful influence in the state. We are familiar from childhood with some version of the story of his contest with Edwy “the

All-fair”—how on the coronation-day he forcibly dragged the king from the society of Ethelgiva, and compelled him to rejoin the boisterous festivity of his nobles;^m the expulsion

^f Vit. Odonis, ap. Mabillon, vii. 291; Vit. Abbonis, ib. viii. 36; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 262.

^g Soames, 168.

^h Will. Malmesbur. l. i. 22.

ⁱ Osberne, ap. Wharton. ii. pp. 92-5.

^k Ib. 96, seqq.

^l W. Malmesb. l. ii. 143; Osberne (100) has misled some writers into supposing that they were the first who had ever appeared in England. See Wharton, Anglia Sacra, ii. 91-2; Kemble, ii. 451-2.

^m As to the controversy respecting Ethelgiva's character and position, I shall content myself with saying that the coarse language which Dr. Lingard

(A. S. C. ii. 274-5, 445-7) quotes from monkish writers, as proving that she was not queen but a woman of loose reputation, is nothing more than such writers would have applied to any woman whose marriage was a breach of the extravagant prohibitions then established—as Dr. Lingard must have very well known (see Theiner, i. 541-2). There is also much disingenuousness in Dr. Lingard's account of the later story (ii. 277-8). See Turner, ii. 252; Lapenberg, ii. 132; Milman, ii. 115. The clearness and fairness of Mr. Hallam (M. A. i. 516; Suppl. Notes, 185) present a striking contrast to the Romanist historian's artifices. In the Additional

of the monks by Edwy from Glastonbury and Abingdon, the only monasteries which then belonged to them; the exile of Dunstan, and his triumphant return as a partisan of the king's brother Edgar, who forced Edwy to a partition of the kingdom, and soon after became sovereign of the whole. Under Edgar, Dunstan enjoyed an unlimited power. In 958 he obtained the bishoprick of Worcester, to which in the following year that of London was added; and in 960 he was advanced to the primacy of Canterbury, on the death of his friend and supporter Odo.^o He received the pall at Rome; and, with the approbation of the pope^p and of the king, he began a reform of the clergy. Edgar, whose co-operation was exacted as a part of the penance incurred by his having carried off a novice or pupil from the nunnery of Wilton,^q is said to have inveighed at a council in the severest terms against the corruptions of the secular clergy.^r The see of Winchester was bestowed on Ethelwold, and that of Worcester on Oswald, a nephew of Odo. Ethelwold, "the father of monks" (as he was called),^s was a confidential adviser of the king, and both the new prelates were zealous supporters of the archbishop's designs.^t Seculars were ejected wherever it was possible; all preferment was exclusively bestowed on the regulars; monks were brought from Fleury and other foreign monasteries, to fill the places of the expelled clergy, and to serve as examples to the English of the true monastic life.^u The canons of Winchester are described by Ethelwold's biographer as sunk in luxury and licentiousness; they refused to perform the offices of the church, and, not content with marrying, indulged themselves in the liberty of changing their wives at pleasure.^x The bishop summoned them to appear before himself and a commissioner from the king. Throwing down on the floor a number of monastic cowls, he required the clergy either to put on these or to quit their preferment. Three only complied, and the rest were dismissed with pensions from the property of the church.^y The reformation of Worcester was effected by other

Notes, Mr. Hallam comes nearer than before to the common story. Archdeacon Churton disbelieves the cruelties which are said to have been practised on Ethelgiva (241). Mr. Soames, on the strength of Odo's remains, is favourable to him, and even palliates the hamstringing of the queen! 182-7.

^o W. Malmesb. *Gesta Pontif.* 115; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 281-2.

^p Joh. xiii. ad Edgar. ap. Hard. vi. 640.

^q Osberne, 111.

^r The speech ascribed to him (which may be found in Wilkins, i. 246) is probably a later invention. See Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 288.

^s Chron. Sax. A.D. 984.

^t Saxon. Chron. A.D. 984; Flor. Wigorn. i. 139.

^u Theimer, i. 549.

^x Vita ap. Mabill. vii. 602.

^y Ib. 603; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 291; Kemble, ii. 461. The old biographer

means. Oswald, with a company of monks, established in the city a service which rivalled that of the cathedral. The people flocked to the new comers; the cathedral was deserted, and its canons were brought to acquiesce in the change which the bishop proposed.² During the reign of Edgar, forty-seven monasteries were founded, restored, or recovered from the secular clergy. The monks were governed by a rule modified from that of St. Benedict, and chiefly derived from Fleury.³

Under the next king, Edward the Martyr, a reaction appeared to be threatened. Some noblemen expelled the regulars from a.d. 975-8.⁴ monasteries situated on their lands, and reinstated the seculars with their wives and children.⁵ Councils were held for the consideration of the matter. At Winchester, Dunstan is said to have gained a victory by means of a crucifix which uttered words against the proposed change.⁶ At Calne, where the cause of the seculars was eloquently pleaded by a Scotch or Irish bishop named Beornhelm, Dunstan solemnly told the assembly that he committed the cause of his church to God—on which, it is said, the floor of the apartment immediately gave way; some were killed and many were severely hurt; while the archbishop and the friends who surrounded him were saved by the firmness of the beam over which they stood.⁷ The story of the speaking crucifix appears to be a fiction;⁸ the other may be explained without the supposition either that a miracle was wrought in behalf of Dunstan, or that he deliberately contrived a fraud which involved the death or bodily injury of his opponents.⁹ The regular clergy got the victory for the time,

says that some of the seculars attempted to poison Ethelwold, but that he escaped by exerting his faith.

² Radmer, ap. Wharton, ii. 202.

³ Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 299; Döllinger, ii. 94-5.

⁴ Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 975.

⁵ Osbern. p. 112; Wilkins, i. 261.

⁶ Osbern. 112; Chron. Sax. 978. Some writers say that Dunstan alone escaped. See the quotations in Turner's Appendix.

⁷ Soames, 202-3.

⁸ Fuller (1. 106) and Dean Milman, who is very unfavourable to Dunstan (iii. 115), point to the archbishop's known skill in mechanical contrivances as suspicious. Mr. Turner condemns him (ii. 273-4, and Append. to B. vi. c. 7), but Mr. Soames is disposed to acquit him (205). Sir J. Mackintosh argues that a contrivance was very

improbable (i. 55). Dr. Lappenberg points out that, according to Florence and the Saxon Chronicle, the sufferers were not the secular clergy, but the nobles of the realm (Tr. ii. 232); and parallels have been produced—as that of a diet at Erfurt, in 1183 (ib. Digby, Mores Cath. x. 520), and an English assize in the last century (Churton, 250); to which may be added an assembly at Rome in 1855, over which Pius IX. presided. That the sinking of the floor took place *immediately* after Dunstan had appealed to heaven (a circumstance on which Mr. Turner much relies) may possibly be an exaggeration of a very familiar sort. Dr. Lingard, with needless unfairness, gives a turn to the story by representing the Saxon Chronicle as stating that Dunstan escaped by *catching* at a beam. This is, indeed, countenanced by the version which Dr. Lingard

but it was very imperfectly carried out. With the exception of Worcester and Winchester, no cathedrals were reformed. Dunstan, although he lived to 988,^{*} made no attempt to introduce a change at Canterbury—whether it were that he was afraid to venture on such a work, or that reform appeared less necessary there than elsewhere;^h and his coadjutor Oswald afterwards held the see of York for twenty years (972-992) without disturbing the seculars.ⁱ The renewal of the Danish invasions diverted the general attention from such matters. Canterbury was transferred to monks by archbishop Aelfric, in 1003;^k but the other cathedrals remained in possession of the seculars until the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, and throughout the kingdom the triumph of the one or of the other party depended on their strength in each locality.^m At the council of Eanham, in 1009, it was laid down that all marriage of the clergy is improper; but the council seems to have practically contented itself with attempting to suppress the greater evils which had arisen from such prohibitions—that clerks took more than one wife at a time, or discarded one for another.ⁿ The secular clergy of England continued to marry, and their issue was regarded as legitimate.^o

II. The importance of the Irish church during this period as a nursery of ecclesiastics and learned men who went forth to labour in other countries has appeared from many notices in the preceding chapters. But of its internal history there is hardly anything to be here recorded. In common with other western countries, Ireland suffered severely from the ravages of the Northmen,^p and in resistance to these enemies the clergy frequently took to arms.^q Favoured by the discords of the native chiefs, the Danes made extensive settlements in Ireland; their princes were established at

quotes from Henry of Huntingdon—*"trabe quadam apprehensa"* (A. S. C. ii. 302); but, as appears from more accurate translations, the Chronicler really says that the archbishop stood, or *supported himself, on a beam*. For this, see Gibson in Turner, ii. 281-2; Stevenson, n. on Sax. Chron. 73; and on the general question, Collier, i. 469; Palgrave, Hist. Anglos. 280; Martineau, 105.

^{*} Pagi, xvi. 290.

^h Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 289.

ⁱ *Ib.* 290.

^k Wilkins, i. 282; Chron. Sax. A.D. 995; Lingard, ii. 294.

^m Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 325-6.

ⁿ C. 5, Thorpe, 134. See Milman, iii. 116.

^o Theiner, ii. 570. As to the character of Dunstan, see Lappenberg, Tr. ii. 147; Kemble, ii. 449, 459, 460. His labours to revive learning deserve to be mentioned (Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 310; Neander, vi. 93); and also the firmness with which he resisted the pope in a matter of discipline (see below, C. VIII. i. 1). Archdeacon Churton represents him as a "cheerful humourist"! p. 254.

^p See Lanigan, iii. 270, seqq., 346, 366, 373, &c.; King, 379, seqq.

^q King, 386.

Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford—the last of these a town of their own founding.^r Various tribes of Northmen contended for the possession of Dublin. The power of the strangers was weakened by their internal feuds, and was at length irrecoverably broken at the great battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday 1014, where Brian Boru, king of all Ireland, fell at the age of eighty-eight in leading on his countrymen to victory.^s Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, however, still remained in possession of the Danes.

It has been incidentally noticed that the Irish Church was distinguished by certain peculiarities in its administration.^t The power of ordination belonged to the bishops alone; but the episcopate was merely a personal distinction, which conveyed no local jurisdiction. The number of the bishops was unlimited, and, like the chorepiscopi of other countries, they were consecrated by a single bishop.^u From early times, the care of the ecclesiastical property was committed to officers styled *Erenachs*,^x who in some respects resembled the Advocates of continental churches; but the most remarkable feature of the system was, that the spiritual government was exercised by a class of persons who, as having succeeded to the churches of eminent early missionaries, were styled their *Coarbs*, or Successors.^y These Coarbs occupied the position of abbots; some of them were bishops, but more commonly they were presbyters. The office of Erenach was not transmitted from father to son, but according to the system of *tanistry*—a successor being chosen during the lifetime of each holder.^z The dignity of Coarb was not originally restricted to particular families; but from the tenth century it appears to have usually become hereditary—the marriage of the clergy being practised in the Irish Church.^a The Erenachs were originally taken from the ranks of the clergy, but the office gradually passed into the hands of laymen;^b and at length—probably in consequence of the Danish invasions, by which the power of defending the church's possessions became a chief qualification for ecclesiastical government—the laity were even admitted to the office of Coarbs, so that, according to a complaint of St. Bernard, the church of Armagh was held by eight laymen in succession.^c

^r King, 389.

^s Lanigan, iii. 421; King, 415.

^t Pp. 98, 105, 182. For the substance of what is here said, I am indebted to the Rev. R. King's 'Memoir introductory to the early History of the Primacy of Armagh.' Armagh, 1854.

^u Lanigan supposed that there was an order of bishops consecrated in the usual

canonical manner, and that besides these there was an order of chorepiscopi, consecrated by one bishop. But Mr. King shows that there is no ground for this, pp. 9-11.

^x Ib. 19.

^y Ib. Preface, and pp. 6, 17.

^z Ib. 19.

^a Ib. 21.

^b Ib. 26.

^c Ib. 22-3.

The Danes (or *Ostmen*) of Dublin were gradually converted to Christianity. They would not, however, receive bishops from the Irish, but sought consecration for their pastors from the English church, with which their own race had become closely connected.^d And it was by means of this Danish intercourse with About England that Ireland was for the first time brought into A.D. 1040. connexion with the Roman Church.^e

III. Scotland was also much infested by the Danes, and to this day a large Scandinavian element is traceable among its population.^f But of its church-history for many centuries there is little authentic record. "When," says bishop Russell, "the reader of ecclesiastical history has passed the epoch which fell under the notice of the Venerable Bede, he finds very little either certain or interesting to engage his attention, till he reaches the times of James V., when the religious controversies which had already agitated the centre of Europe began to excite discussion in the remote provinces of North Britain. During seven hundred years, a cloud of thick darkness, accompanied with a corresponding degree of repose, hung over the Scottish Church."^g

In the absence of certain information, writers of Scottish history have freely indulged in fables and conjectures. Nor has the national fondness for claiming eminent men as our countrymen been limited to those cases in which the ambiguous term *Scotus* might give some plausibility to the claim—such as that of the philosopher John, whose other designation, *Erigena*, is interpreted by archbishop Spottiswoode to mean a native of *Ayr*!^h The same historian endeavours, on the most ridiculous grounds, and in opposition to clear historical evidence, to maintain that Alcuin was a Scotsman;ⁱ and a later and more critical writer, although he grants the English birth of Alcuin, yet imagines that in the same age there was another Albinus,^k a native of Scotland, to whom he ascribes the authorship of the Caroline Books.^m

It is unnecessary here to go into a controversy which has been waged on the subject of a class of persons styled Culdees, in

^d Lanfranc. Epp. 36-8.

^e King, Ch. Hist. 420. Lanigan places the conversion of these Danes in 948, and their connexion with Canterbury not until after the Norman conquest. iii. 376, 434-6.

^f See Worsaae's Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland,

and Ireland. Lond. 1852.

^g Hist. of Ch. in Scotland, i. 89.

^h Spottisw. i. 53. Dempster was, I believe, the author of this ingenious idea.

ⁱ i. 42.

^k Alcuin is sometimes so called.

^m Skinner, i. 142.

whom a precedent has been sought for the presbyterian system of church-government. They appear to have been really a species of monks, who, far from rejecting the episcopal polity, were in many cases attached to cathedrals (as in the metropolitical church of York), and in some places claimed the right of electing the bishops. At St. Andrew's and elsewhere, they retained until the twelfth century the Scottish or Irish ritual, which had been used at York until the time of Alcuin;ⁿ but the contentions which are recorded between such societies and bishops related, not to any difference in religion, but to questions of property or privileges.^o

IV. The Greek church in this period introduced the Gospel among a nation destined to play an important part in later history—the Russians.

The ruling tribe of Russia were Scandinavians, or Northmen, who, while their kinsmen infested the countries of the west, carried their adventurous arms into the vast territory which lies to the south-east of their original seats.^p The first mention of them in history is under the year 839, when some Russians, who had been sent to Constantinople, accompanied the eastern emperor's ambassadors to the court of Louis the Pious.^q In 864 the Russian monarchy was founded by Rurik.^r The northern conquerors gradually extended their boundaries; their race was intermingled with the older inhabitants of the country, and their Teutonic language was forgotten. They became known to the Greeks by commerce carried on across the Euxine, and by the repeated attempts which they made to get possession of Constantinople.^s Some of Rurik's companions, leaving him in possession of his conquests, proceeded to the eastern capital, where they entered into the imperial service; and the *Varangian* guard, which was thus formed, was recruited by adventurers of kindred race from England and the Scandinavian countries.^t

The story of the first introduction of Christianity into Russia is embellished by fable.^u According to the Greek writers, Basil

ⁿ p. 211.

^o See Goodall's Dissertation, prefixed to Keith's Catal. of Scottish Bishops, with the additions in Russell's edition. Edinb. 1824; Skinner, i. 161; Russell, i. 67; Gieseler, II. ii. 231; Döllinger, ii. 102.

^p Gibbon, v. 304, with Milman's note; Strahl, i. 56, 60-3.

^q Annal. Bertin.

^r Strahl, i. 63.

^s A.D. 865-6, 904, 941. See Gibbon, v. 307-311; Strahl, i. 65.

^t Mouravieff, 9.

^u The chief authority for the early history is Nestor, a Russian monk of the 11th century, whose work has been translated into French by L. Paris. Paris, 1834.

the Macedonian, on concluding a peace with the Russians, sent a bishop and other missionaries into their country. The bishop, in the presence of the Russian prince and nobles, dwelt on the evidence borne by miracles to the truth of the Gospel revelation. They listened attentively, but answered that they would not believe unless they might themselves witness a miracle. The bishop warned them not to tempt God; but, as they had been especially struck by the story of the three youths delivered from the furnace, he proceeded to show a miracle of similar kind. At his prayer, the book of the Gospels was cast into a fire, and after many hours it was taken out uninjured.^x

Photius, in his letter to the oriental patriarchs,^y states that the fierce and barbarous Russians had been converted by the Greek church. But his language greatly overstates any effect which the Christian teachers had at that time produced among them; and although Ignatius is said to have consecrated a bishop for Russia, and to have taken measures for spreading the Gospel in that country,^z paganism was, in the middle of the following century, again all but universal among the Russians.

In 955, Olga, widow of the Grand-Prince Igur, and regent of Russia, appeared with a large train at Constantinople, where she was received with much honour by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and was baptised.^a It is uncertain whether she had undertaken the expedition in consequence of some Christian instruction which had reached her in her own land, or whether, having gone to Constantinople with a view to secular business, she there received impressions which led her to seek for admission into the church.^b Olga, who at baptism took the name of Helena, endeavoured, after her return to Novogorod, to spread her new faith among her subjects. Her son Svatoslaff, however, withstood her attempts to convert him, alleging that his nobles would despise him if he should change.^c

^x Cedren. 589; Pagi, xiv. 564.

^y Ep. 2, p. 58. See above, p. 346.

^z Pagi, xv. 299.

^a Cedren. 636. Nestor, i. 79-80, gives fabulous details.

^b Neander remarks it as curious, that Constantine, while he relates very fully the ceremonial of her reception, says nothing of her baptism (v. 451). Some German writers state that Olga made an insincere application to Otho I., on the subject of Christianity, and that in

consequence a bishop, named Adalbert, was sent into Russia, where he had difficulty in escaping death (Thietmar, ii. 14; Annal. Quedlinb. A.D. 960, ap. Pertz, iii.). Some would read *Angia* (i. e. the island of Rügen) for Russia; but Pagi maintains that Russia is meant, and that Adalbert was the same who was afterwards bishop of Magdeburg. See Pagi, xv. 105; Schröckh, xxi. 515-7; Strahl, i. 95; Neander, v. 452.

^c Nestor, i. 82-3.

Vladimir, the son and successor of Svatoslaff, was importuned, it is said, by the advocates of rival religions—of Judaism, A.D. 986. of Islam, and of Greek and Latin Christianity. He saw reason for rejecting the Jewish and Mahometan systems, and, in order that he might be able to decide between the two forms of Christianity, he sent commissioners to observe the religion of Germany, of Rome, and of Greece. When at Constantinople, they were deeply impressed by the magnificent building of the cathedral, and by the solemn, majestic, and touching character of the eucharistic service which they witnessed; they told the Greeks who were with them that during the performance of the rite they had seen winged youths circling through the church, and chanting the *Trisagion*. By the report of these envoys Vladimir was determined to adopt the Christianity of the Greeks.^d In 988, having taken the city of Korsun^e from the empire, he made proposals for the hand of a Greek princess, Anna, sister of the emperor Basil II. To the difficulties raised on the ground of religion, he answered that he was willing to become a Christian. His resolution was shaken by a temporary blindness, which he ascribed to the vengeance of the gods against his apostasy; but at Anna's urgent request he consented to be baptised, and his change of religion was justified by the recovery of his sight as he received the imposition of the bishop of Korsun's hands. The marriage took place forthwith, and Korsun either was restored to the empire, or became the dowry of Vladimir's bride.^f According to Russian writers, Vladimir, who at baptism had taken the name of Basil, renounced the laxity of his former life for a strict observance of conjugal fidelity, and of other Christian duties; and both he and Anna are numbered among the saints of their church.^g The Latins,^h however, assert that his actions did no credit to his new profession.

On his return to Kieff, the Grand-Prince ordered the huge idol of Perun, the chief Russian god, to be dragged through the streets at a horse's tail, and thrown into the Dnieper. Many of the Rus-

^d The same story is by some referred to an earlier time. See Nestor, i. 122-9, 145-9; Schröckh, xxi. 511, 517-9; Mouravieff, 12, 354; Strahl, i. 107.

^e Apparently the ancient Cherson (see p. 44); Gibbon, v. 317; Paris, note on Nestor; Spruner, Map iv. of Europe; Mouravieff, 13; Finlay, ii. 422.

Schröckh (xxi. 519) takes it for Kertch.

^f Nestor, i. 130-4; Strahl, i. 109-10. The statements as to the disposal of Korsun appear to arise from varying translations of Nestor. See the editor's note, p. 134.

^g Schröckh, xxi. 522-3.

^h E. g. Thietmar, vii. 52.

sians burst into tears at the sight; but, when a proclamation summoned them to repair to the river next day, on pain of being regarded as rebels, the dutiful people argued that, if the proposed change of religion were not good, the prince and the nobles would not recommend it. A general baptism of the population took place. "Some," says Nestor, "stood in the water up to their necks, others up to their breasts, holding their young children in their arms; the priests read the prayers from the shore, naming at once whole companies by the same name."ⁱ Bishopricks were now established, churches were built on the Greek model by Greek architects,^k relics were imported, schools were opened, and children were obliged to attend them, although it is said that the mothers wept, and were as much afraid to send their children for instruction as if they had been sending them to death.^m The Scriptures, in Cyril's Slavonic version, were introduced—a fact which, in defiance of chronology, has been turned into the statement that Cyril himself laboured as a missionary among the Russians.ⁿ

On the death of Vladimir, in 1015, the division of his dominions among his twelve sons, and the bloody family discords which ensued, interfered with the progress of the Gospel. But Yaroslaff, who at length became the sole ruler of the country, zealously carried on the work. He caused translations of some edifying A.D. 1019- Greek books to be made for the benefit of his subjects, 1054. encouraged the composition of original religious works, and even himself took part in the literary labour.^o The *Nomocanon*, or collection of ecclesiastical laws, by Photius, was introduced as the rule of discipline. The clergy were exempted from taxes, and from civil duties; but, whereas they had until then been subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, Yaroslaff was careful A.D. 1051. to place the church on a national footing, with a native Russian for its primate.^p

V. Although Bohemia had been reckoned among Christian countries, the Gospel was but very imperfectly established in it. On the death of duke Radislav, in 925, his mother Ludmilla (whose conversion has been already mentioned)^q undertook the

ⁱ Quoted by Mourav. 15. The French translation does not very closely agree. Mourav. 11.

^k Nestor, i. 137.

^m *Ib.* i. 136.

ⁿ See Schröckh, xxi. 512, 521, &c.; Mourav, 17, 21. The story of a prince's conversion by a picture of the Last Judgment is transferred from the Bulgarian Bogorits to the Russian Vladimir. Mourav. 11.

^o Nestor; i. 176-7; Strahl, i. 158, 169.

^p Nestor, i. 179; Mourav. 20; Strahl, i. 148, 164.

^q P. 365.

care of his two sons, Wenceslav and Boleslav. But the widow of Radislav, Dragonira, who was a pagan, contrived that Ludmilla should be murdered—a crime to which she was instigated partly by religious enmity and partly by a fear of losing her share

in the administration.^r Notwithstanding his mother's

A.D. 927. efforts to turn him away from Christianity, Wenceslav was deeply devoted to it. He lived a life of the strictest sanctity, and is supposed to have been on the point of exchanging his crown for the monastic cowl when his reign was violently brought to an

A.D. 936. end. His brother Boleslav attacked him when on his

way to perform his devotions in a church. Wenceslav, being the stronger of the two, disarmed the traitor, threw him to the ground, and uttered the words "God forgive thee, brother!" but the cries of Boleslav brought his servants to the spot, and, supposing their master to have been attacked, they slew the duke.^s

Boleslav, who is styled "the Cruel," usurped the government. On the birth of a son, soon after, he was led by a strange mixture of motives to devote the child to a religious life by way of expiation;^t but for many years he carried on a persecution of his Christian subjects, expelling the clergy and destroying churches and monasteries. In 950, after a long struggle against the power of Otho I., he was obliged to yield, and the emperor, in granting him a peace, insisted that he should establish freedom of religion, and should rebuild the churches which he had demolished.^u

During the remaining seventeen years of Boleslav's reign the church enjoyed peace; but the complete establishment of Christianity was

the work of his son Boleslav "the Pious," who took

A.D. 967. vigorous measures for the suppression of paganism, and with Otho's consent founded in 973 the bishoprick of Prague. The diocese was to include the whole of Boleslav's dominions, and was to be subject to the archbishop of Mentz, as a compensation for the late erection of Magdeburg into an independent archbishoprick.^x

The second bishop of Prague was a Bohemian of noble family, who had studied under Adalbert, archbishop of Magde-

A.D. 982.^y burg, and at receiving confirmation from him, had adopted that prelate's name instead of the Bohemian Woytich.^z The bishop

^r Palacky, i. 204.

^s Gumpold. *Vita Wencesl.* c. 19, ap. Pertz, iv.; Palacky, i. 209; Wenceslav became the patron saint of Bohemia, 210.

^t Palacky, i. 210.

^u Schröckh, xxi. 437.

^x Cosmas Pragens. i. 21, ap. Pertz,

ix.; Palacky, i. 229; Gieseler, II. i. 359.

^y Pagi, xvi. 249.

^z *Vita Adalb.* ap. Pertz, iv. c. 3; Thietmar, iv. 19; Cosmas, i. 25-6. In consequence of this, the Bohemian *Woytich* and the German *Adalbert* are to this day regarded as corresponding names. Palacky, i. 234.

displayed great activity in his office. He persuaded the duke to build churches and monasteries, and, as his German education had rendered him zealous for the Latin usages, he exerted himself to suppress the Greek rites which had been introduced by way of Moravia. He found that much paganism was still mixed with the Christian profession of his flock, and that gross disorders and immoralities prevailed among them;—that the clergy lived in marriage or concubinage; that the people practised polygamy, and marriage within the forbidden degrees; that they sold their serfs and captives to Jewish slave-dealers, who disposed of them to heathens and barbarians—sometimes for the purpose of sacrifice.^a Adalbert set himself to reform these evils; but the rigour of his character and his somewhat intemperate zeal excited opposition, which was greatly swelled by his attempting to introduce the Roman canons without regard to the national laws, and to assert for the church a superiority to all secular judgments.^b The feuds of his family were also visited on the bishop, and such was the resistance to his authority that he twice withdrew from Bohemia in disgust, and made pilgrimages to Rome and to Jerusalem. He resumed his see in obedience to a Roman synod; but he finally left it in 996,^c and, with the sanction of Gregory V., who gave him the commission of a regent archbishop, he set out on a missionary expedition to the Prussians. His attempts to convert that barbarous people were ineffectual, and he was martyred on the shore of the Frische Hafl in April 997.^d Boleslav, duke of Poland, who had encouraged the mission, redeemed the martyr's body, and placed it in a church at Gnesen, where, as we have seen, it was visited with great devotion by Otho III. in the year 1000. On that occasion the emperor erected Gnesen into an archbishoprick, which he bestowed on one of Adalbert's brothers.^e In 1039, while the Polish throne was vacant, and the country was a prey to anarchy, the Bohemians, under Bretislav I., took possession of Gnesen, seized on the vast treasures which had been accumulated around the shrine of Adalbert, and resolved to carry off the body of the saint, whose memory had risen to great veneration in his native country. Severus, bishop of Prague, who had accompanied the army, took

^a Vita, 9-12.^b Schröckh, xxi. 441-2.^c Cosmas, i. 29-30; Chron. Casin. ii. 17; Vita, 22; Pagi, xvi. 270, 297; Palacky, i. 238-241.^d Vita, 30; Thietmar, iv. 19. It is said that, when the Prussians would not

listen to Adalbert, he addressed his preaching to the cows and asses, who nodded their heads in token of assent. Schröckh, xxi. 499.

^e Thietmar, iv. 28; Annal. Hildesh. 1001, ap. Pertz, iii.; Palacky, i. 246.

advantage of the feeling. He declared that Adalbert had appeared to him in a vision, and had made him swear that the people, as a condition of being allowed to enjoy the presence of his relics in their own land, would bind themselves to the observance of such laws as he had in his lifetime unsuccessfully attempted to establish among them. The relics were then with great solemnity translated to Prague; but Polish writers assert that the invaders were mistaken in their prize, and that the real body of St. Adalbert still remained at Gnesen.^f

VI. The Slavonic liturgy, which had been sanctioned by Pope John VIII., for Moravia, was introduced from that country into Bohemia. But the German clergy who laboured among the Slavonic nations naturally set themselves against it. A rescript bearing the name of John XIII., which, in professing to confirm the foundation of the see of Prague, requires the Bohemian church to use the Latin language and rites, is said to be spurious.^g But the opponents of the Slavonic liturgy represented it as a token of heresy. The abbey of Sazawa, founded in 1038,^h became the chief school of the native Bohemian monasticism, and maintained the Slavonic form. The Slavonic monks were expelled from it, in 1058, but five years later they were restored by Duke Wratislav, who endeavoured to obtain from Gregory VII. an approbation of their vernacular service-book. But the pope in 1080 replied in terms of strong disapprobation. It was, he said, God's pleasure that holy Scripture should not be everywhere displayed, lest it might be held cheap and despised, or should give rise to error; the use of the vernacular had been conceded only on account of temporary circumstances, which had now long passed away.ⁱ Yet the liturgy thus discountenanced by Rome was revived from time to time in some parts of Bohemia, and in the convent of Emaus, at Prague, which was founded in the fourteenth century, it is said to be in use to this day.^k

In some cases, where people of Slavonic race bordered on the Greek empire, the popes found it expedient to gratify their national spirit by allowing the vernacular service; but elsewhere they endeavoured to root it out. Thus Alexander II. in 1062 permitted the Slavonic rite in the province of Dioclea; but a council

^f Cosm. Prag. ii. 35; Pagi, xvi. 621; Palacky, i. 280; Röpell, i. 178.

^g Jaffé, 947. Gieseler cites it as genuine, II. i. 359.

^h Monach. Sazavens. ap. Pertz, ix. 149.

ⁱ Ep. vii. 11 (Hard. vi. 1435); Gieseler, II. i. 359-360; Gröner, iv. 345.

^k Gieseler, II. i. 360.

held at Salona, under a legate of the same pope, condemned it, on the ground that the Slavonic letters had been invented by Methodius, a heretic, who had written many lying books in the Slavonic tongue against the Catholic faith.^m The Slavonic liturgy, however, continued to be used in Illyria down to very recent times."

VII. It has been supposed that some knowledge of Christianity found its way into Poland from Moravia, and more especially by means of Christian refugees after the ruin of the Moravian kingdom.^o But nothing considerable had been effected towards the conversion of the Poles when in 965 their duke, Miecislav, married Dambrowka, a daughter of Boleslav the Cruel of Bohemia. Two years later Dambrowka persuaded her husband to embrace the Christian faith,^p and he proceeded to enforce it on his subjects under very severe penalties; thus, any one who should eat flesh from Septuagesima to Easter was to lose his teeth. The German chronicler who relates this, Thietmar or Ditmar, bishop of Meissenburg, adds that among a people so rude, who needed to be tended like cattle and beaten like lazy asses, means of conversion akin to the severity of their barbaric laws were more likely to be useful than the gentler methods of ordinary ecclesiastical discipline.^q

The story that the Polish church was organised under the superintendence of a papal legate, with seven bishopricks and two archbishopricks, is now exploded.^r Posen was the only bishoprick in the country, and was subject to the archbishops of Magdeburg, until in 1000 Gnesen was made an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see by Otho III.^s The original Christianity of Poland was derived from Greek sources; but the fourth wife of Miecislav, Oda, daughter of a German marquis, influenced the duke in favour of the Latin system. She was active in the encouragement of monks, and in works of piety and charity; and the clergy, in consideration of the benefits which the church derived from her, were willing to overlook the fact that her marriage was a breach of the vows which she had taken as a nun.^t The establishment of the Latin Christianity was completed under Boleslav,^u who has been

^m It is evident that these learned fathers confounded Methodius with Ulphilas! Gieseler, II. i. 360-1.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Röpell thinks this a mistake, i. 622.

^p Thietmar, iv. 35; Pagi, xv. 159; Röpell, i. 623-6. The Polish chronicle in Pertz ix. (i. 5) says that she made him promise before marriage to do so.

^q viii. 2.

^r Pagi, xvi. 160; Gieseler, II. i. 364; Wiltsh, i. 396.

^s Pagi, xvi. 395; Schröckh, xxi. 497;

Röpell, i. 629-631.

^t Thietmar, iv. 36; Schröckh, xxi. 495.

^u Chron. Polon. i. 11.

already mentioned as the patron of Adalbert's mission to Prussia. The popes were careful to draw close the bonds which connected Poland with Rome; and from an early time (although the precise date is disputed), a yearly tribute of a penny was paid by every Pole, with exception of the clergy and nobles, to the treasury of St. Peter.^x

It is supposed that the title of king was bestowed on Boleslav by Otho III. on the occasion of his visit to Gnesen.^y But if the dignity was conferred by the imperial power, the popes, according to a story of doubtful authority, soon found a remarkable opportunity of exhibiting and increasing their spiritual jurisdiction over the new kingdom.^z After the death of king Miecslav or Miesco II., in 1034, Poland fell into a miserable state of confusion. Paganism again reared its head; there was much apostasy from the Gospel, bishops and clergy were killed or hunted out, churches and monasteries were burnt, and the Bohemian invasion, already mentioned, was triumphant.^a The Poles, it is said, at length resolved to offer the crown to Casimir, a son of the late king, who had been driven into banishment, and, after much inquiry, he was discovered in a monastery—either that of Cluny or the German abbey of Braunweiler. He had taken the monastic vows, and had been ordained a deacon; and the abbot declared that, although grieved for the misery of Poland, he could not himself release the prince from these engagements unless by the pope's permission. Application was then made to Benedict IX., by whom, after much entreaty, Casimir was discharged from his ecclesiastical obligations, and was given up to the Poles, with permission to marry and to undertake the government; but the pope stipulated that, in remembrance of their having received a king from the Church, every male of the nation should use a certain sort of tonsure, and that other marks of subjection should be shown to the see of St. Peter.^b

VIII. During the tenth century, the German sovereigns—especially Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great—laboured to provide for the suppression of paganism in the northern part of their

^x Some date this from the reign of Miecslav; others, from Otho's visit to Gnesen; others from the reign of Casimir. See Schröckh, xxi. 503, 505; Röpell, i. 129; Gfrörer, iv. 79.

^y Schröckh, xxi. 503.

^z Planck, iii. 376.

^a Röpell, i. 175.

^b Dlugloss, ap. Baron, 1041. 3-11. But the story is considered fabulous (Stenzel, i. 78; Röpell, i. 180). The Chron. Polon. has nothing of it, but states that Casimir was living in Germany, under the protection of Henry III. i. 18-9 (Pertz, ix.).

dominions.^c With a view to this, bishopricks were established at Meissen, Merseburg, and elsewhere, and Magdeburg was erected into a metropolitan see. But little impression could be made on the Slavonic tribes in those quarters.^d A natural prejudice was felt against the religion which was offered to them by the Germans; the German missionaries were ignorant of Slavonic; and it is said that the clergy showed greater eagerness to raise money from the people than to instruct them.^e From time to time extensive insurrections against the German power took place, and at such times churches were destroyed and clergy were slain. In 1047, the kingdom of the Wends was founded by Gottschalek, who zealously endeavoured to promote Christianity among his subjects. He founded churches and monasteries, and, like the Northumbrian Oswald, he himself often acted as interpreter while the clergy preached in a tongue unintelligible to his people.^f But in 1066 he was murdered; many Christians, among whom was the aged bishop of Mecklenburg, were massacred at the same time, and Christianity appeared to be extirpated from the country.^g

IX. The history of the introduction of Christianity into Hungary has been the subject of disputes, chiefly arising from the question whether it was effected by the Greek or by the Latin church.^h It appears, in truth, that the first knowledge of the Gospel came from Constantinople, where two Hungarian princes, Bolosudes and Gyulas, were baptised in the year 948. Bolosudes relapsed into paganism, and, after having carried on hostilities against both empires, he was taken and put to death by Otho the Great in 955. But Gyulas remained faithful to his profession, and many of his subjects were converted by the preaching of clergy who were sent to him from Constantinople with a bishop named Hierotheus at their head.ⁱ

The great victory of Otho in 955^k opened a way for the labours of the neighbouring German bishops among the Hungarians. About twenty years later,^m Pilligrin, bishop of Nassau, reported to pope Benedict VII. that he had been entreated by the people of Hungary to assist them; that he had sent clergy and monks,

^c Adam Brem. ii. 3; see Schröckh, xxi. 449, seqq.

^d On these, see Adam, i. 10.

^e Ib. iii. 22.

^f Ib. iii. 18-20; Luden, viii. 652.

^g Ad. Br. 49-50.

^h See Schröckh, xxi. 529-531.

ⁱ Cedren. 636; Schröckh, xxi. 526; Mailáth, i. 23.

^k See p. 380.

^m Hard. vi. 695; but Pagi seems to place the letter in 979 (xvi. 246). Jaffe refers the pope's answer to 974.

who had baptised about five thousand of them; that the land was full of Christian captives, who had formerly been obliged to conceal their religion, and had only been able to get their children baptised by stealth, but that now the hindrances to the open profession of Christianity were removed; that not only the Hungarians, but the Slavonic tribes of the neighbourhood, were ready to embrace the Gospel; and he prayed that bishops might be appointed for the work. This representation of the state of things may have been heightened by Pilligrin's desire to obtain for himself the pall, with the title of archbishop of Lorch, which had been conferred on some of his predecessors, while the rest, as simple bishops of Passau, had been subject to the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg. The pope rewarded him by addressing to the emperor and to the great German prelates a letter in which he bestows on Pilligrin, as archbishop of Lorch, the jurisdiction of a metropolitan over Bavaria, Lower Pannonia, Mœsia, and the adjoining Slavonic territories.^a Yet little seems to have been done in consequence for the conversion of the Hungarians, and Wolfgang, who was sent as a missionary to them, met with scanty success, and was recalled to become bishop of Ratisbon.^o

Geisa, who from the year 972 was duke of Hungary, married Sarolta, daughter of Gyulas, a woman of masculine character, and by her influence was brought over to Christianity. Although the knowledge of the faith had been received by Sarolta's family from Greece, her husband was led by political circumstances to connect his country with the western church, and he himself appears to have been baptised by Bruno, bishop of Verdun, who had been sent to him as ambassador by Otho I.^p But Geisa's conversion was of no very perfect kind. While professing himself a Christian, he continued to offer sacrifice to idols; and, when Bruno remonstrated, he answered that he was rich enough and powerful enough to do both.^q In 983, or the following year, a bishop named Adalbert—probably the celebrated bishop of Prague—appeared in Hungary, and baptised Geisa's son Waik, then four or five years old.^r The young prince, to whom the name of Stephen was given,

^a Hard. vi. 689-90. Lorch (the Roman Laureacum) was destroyed by the Avars in 738, when Vivilo, or Vivilus (see p. 99) removed the see to Passau (Rettberg, ii. 245). The emperor did not confirm the archiepiscopal dignity of Pilligrin (Gfrörer, iii. 1373), and his successors in the bishoprick of Passau were suffragans of Salzburg. Wiltsh,

i. 377-9.

^o Neander, v. 457.

^p Schröckh, xxi. 532; Mailáth, i. 31-4.

^q Thietmar, viii. 3, ap. Gieseler, II. i. 365.

^r So it is said in the Life of St Stephen, c. 4 (Pertz, xi. 231).

^s Mailáth, i. Anhang 6. German

became the most eminent worthy of Hungarian history. Unlike his father, he received a careful education. In 997, he succeeded Geisa, and he reigned for forty-one years, with a deserved reputation for piety, justice, bravery, and perseverance.^t A pagan party, which at first opposed him, was put down; he married a Bavarian princess, sister of Henry who afterwards became emperor, and he obtained the erection of his dominions into a kingdom from Otho III.^u In fulfilment of a vow which he had made during the contest with his heathen opponents, he earnestly exerted himself for the establishment of Christianity among his subjects. His kingdom, which he extended by the addition of the territory known as *Black Hungary*,^x was placed under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin. He erected episcopal sees, and built many monasteries and churches; and it appears that the services which he had done to the church procured for him a commission to act as vicar of the Roman see in his dominions—a privilege which his successors continued to claim.^y He invited monks and clergy from other countries. He founded a college for the education of Hungarians at Rome, and built hospitals and monasteries for his countrymen at Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, and Jerusalem;^z and such was his hospitality to pilgrims, that the journey through Hungary came to be generally preferred to a sea-voyage by those who were bound for the Holy Land.^a The means which Stephen

chroniclers represent Stephen as having been baptised, with a view to his *marriage*. But against this, see Schröckh, xxi. 534; Neander, vi. 458.

^t Schröckh, xxi. 534.

^u A.D. 1000 (Mailáth, i. 40). It has been asserted that the dignity of king was given by the pope; but the utmost that can truly be said is, that the pope bestowed his blessing on Stephen when he had been made a king by the emperor (Schröckh, xxi. 534-6). The famous crown of St. Stephen is said to have been sent to him by the pope, and has been regarded as of more than mortal workmanship. But it has on it the name of a Greek emperor, Constantine—probably Constantine Porphyrogenitus—a circumstance which some Romish writers have explained by saying that the crown was given by Constantine the Great to Sylvester I. (see Schröckh, xvi. 537). Count Mailáth, after a careful personal examination, agrees with those who consider the lower part to be Greek, and the arches of Roman workmanship (i. Anh. 6-7). The letter, said to have been written by

Sylvester II. on sending the crown, is supposed by Mailáth (Anh. 7) to be genuine in its foundation, although tampered with. Gfrörer defends it (iii. 1531), and Jaffé classes it among the genuine letters (346). But Schröckh (xxi. 545) and Gieseler (II. i. 366) say that the correspondence of its professed discoverer, a Franciscan of the 16th century, named Levacoviez, proves it to have been fabricated by him.

^x Schröckh, xxi. 543.

^y Gieseler, II. i. 366.

^z Vita, 12.

^a Baron. 1002. 17-22; Schröckh, xxi. 542-3. In 1030, Werinher, bishop of Strasburg, being sent by the emperor Conrad as ambassador to Constantinople, endeavoured, for the sake of economy, to pass through Hungary in the character of a pilgrim. His large and splendid train gave the lie to the pretence, and Stephen, apparently in disgust, altogether refused him a passage. The bishop had to make his way through Bavaria to Venice, from which he had a dangerous voyage to the eastern capital. In consequence of this affair,

employed to recommend the Gospel were not always limited to pure persuasion; thus, a free Hungarian who should refuse to embrace Christianity was to be degraded to the condition of a serf.^b

Stephen died in 1038. His son Emmerich or Henry, for whom he had drawn up a remarkable code of instructions, had died some years before;^c and the king bequeathed his dominions to a nephew named Peter,^d who was soon after dethroned. A period of internal discord followed; and twice within the eleventh century the paganism which had been forcibly repressed recovered its ascendancy in Hungary so as for a time to obscure the profession of the Gospel.^e

X. Among the nations to which Anskar had preached, Christianity was but very partially adopted. Its progress was liable to be checked by the paganism of some princes; it was liable to be rendered odious by the violent measures which other princes took to enforce it on their subjects; while the barbarism and ignorance of the Northmen opposed a formidable difficulty to its success. Hamburg and Bremen, the sees planted for the evangelisation of North Germany and Scandinavia, were repeatedly attacked both by the Northmen and by the Slaves;^f but the victories of A.D. 934.

Henry I. established the Christian power, and he erected the Mark of Sleswick as a protection for Germany against the inroads of the Northmen.^g The conversions in Denmark had been limited to the mainland; the islands were still altogether pagan, and human sacrifices continued to be offered in Zealand.^h Henry obtained from Gorm, who was the first king of all Denmark, that Christians should be allowed freedom of religion in the country, and that human sacrifices should cease.ⁱ Unni, archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg, undertook the work of a missionary in Denmark. His endeavours to make a convert of Gorm were unsuccessful; but he baptised one of the inferior kings named Fröde, and found a supporter in Gorm's son Harold Blaataad (or *Black-tooth*) who had derived some knowledge of the Gospel from the instructions of a Christian mother.^k But the prince was still unbaptised; he retained the cruelty, the rapacity, and the other

Stephen was involved in a war with the emperor, but both parties soon found it convenient to make peace. Wippo, Vita Chuonradi, 22, 26 (Pertz, xi.); Luden, viii. 65, 76.

^b Schröckh, xxi. 541.

^c Vita S. Steph. 16.

^d Ib. 18.

^e Schröckh, xxi. 549-551.

^f Schröckh, xxi. 343.

^g Luden, vi. 393.

^h Münter, i. 352.

ⁱ Ib. 350.

^k Ib. 348-352.

usual vices of the northern plunderers; and for many years his religious belief was of a mixed kind. In 966, a missionary named Poppo, while enjoying Harold's hospitality, fell into an argument with some of the guests, who, while they allowed Christ to be God, maintained that there were other gods of higher dignity and power. In proof of the exclusive truth of his religion, Poppo underwent the ordeal of putting on a red hot iron gauntlet, and wearing it without injury to his hand, until the king declared himself satisfied.^m From that time Harold attached himself exclusively to Christianity, although he was not baptised until Otho, after defeating him in 972, insisted on his baptism as a condition of peace.ⁿ The intemperate zeal with which he now endeavoured to enforce the reception of the Gospel provoked two rebellions, headed by his own son Sweyn; and, after a reign of fifty years, Harold was dethroned, and died of a wound received in battle.^o

Although Sweyn had been brought up as a Christian, and had been baptised at the same time with his father, he persecuted the faith for many years, until, towards the end of his life, when his arms had been triumphant in England, he was there brought back to the religion of his early days.^p In 1014 he was succeeded by Canute, who, both in England and in his northern dominions, endeavoured, by a bountiful patronage of the church, to atone for his father's sins and for his own. When present at the coronation of Conrad as emperor,^q he obtained from him a cession of the Mark of Sleswick.^r Hospitals for Danish pilgrims were founded at Rome and at some stations on the way to it.^s Three bishops and a number of clergy were sent from England into Denmark; but Unwan, archbishop of Bremen, regarding these bishops as intruders into his province, caught one of them, compelled him to acknowledge the metropolitan rights of Bremen, and sent him to Canute, who thereupon agreed to submit the Danish church to the jurisdiction of that see.^t Sweyn, who, eight years after^{A.D. 1043-} the death of his uncle Canute, obtained possession of the^{1076.} Danish throne, although a man of intemperate and profligate life, was very munificent to the church, and did much for the extension of

^m Widukind, iii. 65 (Pertz, iii.); Thietmar, ii. 8. The variations of the story are given by Münter, i. 375. Comp. Adam Brem. ii. 33, and Lappenberg's note, in Pertz. vii. 318.

ⁿ Ad. Brem. ii. 3.

^o Ad. Brem. ii. 25-6; Münter, i. 375-387. Baronius (980, 11) and Pagi (xvi.

252) place his death in 980; Schröckh (xxi. 350) in 986; Münter (i. 387) and Gieseler (II. i. 348) in 991.

^r Münter, i. 400.

^q See p. 412.

^r Luden, viii. 51.

^s Münter, i. 409.

^t Ad. Brem. ii. 53.

Christianity in the islands of his kingdom. The English missionaries had preached in their native tongue, while at every sentence their words were explained by an interpreter; but Sweyn, to remedy this difficulty for the future, provided that such foreigners as were to labour in the instruction of his subjects should be previously initiated in the Danish language by the canons of Hamburg.^u Among the memorable events of this reign was the penance to which the king was obliged to submit by William, bishop of Roskild, for having caused some refractory nobles to be put to death in a church—a penance initiated from that of Theodosius. Sweyn died in 1076.^x

XI. The Christianity planted by Anskar in Sweden was almost confined to the neighbourhood of Birka, and for about seventy years after the Apostle's death, the country was hardly ever visited by missionaries.^y Umi, archbishop of Bremen, after the expedition to Denmark which has been mentioned,^z crossed the sea to Sweden, in 935, and laboured there until his death in the following year.^a A mixture of paganism and Christianity arose, which is curiously exemplified in a drinking song still extant, where the praises of the Trinity are set forth in the same style which was used in celebrating the gods of Scandinavian paganism.^b

The reign of Olave *Stotkomung*,^c who became king towards the end of the tenth century, and died about 1024,^d was important for the propagation of the Gospel in Sweden. Some German clergy, and many from England, were introduced into the country; among them was Sigfrid, archdeacon of York, who laboured among the Swedes for many years. Two of his relations, who had joined him in the mission, were murdered by heathens. The chief murderer escaped, and his property was confiscated; some of his accomplices, who were found, were, at Sigfrid's intercession, allowed to compound for their crime by payment of a fine; and the funds thus obtained served to found the bishoprick of Wexio, to which Sigfrid was consecrated by the archbishop of Bremen.^e Olave had meditated the destruction of the temple at Upsal, which was the principal seat of the old idolatry; but he was diverted from his intention by

^u Schröckh, xxi. 353, 359.

^x Schröckh, xxi. 356-7.

^y Ib. 360-1.

^z P. 444.

^a Ad. Brem. i. 62-4.

^b Schröckh, xxi. 362.

^c i. e. *Lap-king*, because he is said to have been king while yet in his nurse's

lap. But Geijer remarks that, if this be true, Olave must have been associated with his father in the kingdom as he took a personal share in war soon after his father's death. i. 119.

^d Geijer, i. 126.

^e Schröckh, xxi. 363-5; Geijer, 1015.

the entreaties of his heathen subjects, who begged him to content himself with taking the best portion of the country, and building a church for his own religion, but to refrain from attempting to force their belief. On this he removed to Skara, in West Gothland, and founded a see there, to which Thurgot, an Englishman, was consecrated.^f The ancient Runic characters were superseded among the Swedes by the Latin alphabet, and the influence of the Gospel triumphed over the national love of piracy.^g A.D. 1015.

But the violence of the measures by which Olave endeavoured to advance the Gospel excited a general hatred against him among the adherents of the old religion, and he was obliged to admit his son Emund to a share in the government. Emund, after his father's death, had a disagreement with the archbishop of Bremen, and set up some bishops independent of that prelate's metropolitan jurisdiction—having obtained consecration for them in Poland.^h But this arrangement was given up by his second successor, Stenkil, whose mild and wise policy was more favourable to the advancement of the faith than the more forcible proceedings of Olave had been. Under Stenkil, the number of churches in Sweden was increased to about eleven hundred.ⁱ His death, which took place in 1066,^k was followed by bloody civil wars, and for a time paganism resumed its ascendancy; but in 1075 king Inge forbade all heathen worship, and, after much contention, Christianity was firmly established in the country.^m According to Adam of Bremen, a contemporary of this king, the scandal produced by the covetousness of too many among the clergy had been the chief hindrance to the general conversion of the Swedes, whom he describes as well disposed to receive the Gospel.ⁿ

XII. Among the Norwegians, some converts had been made in the time of Anskar, and the more readily, because the profession of Christianity opened to them the trade of England and of Germany. But such converts, although they acknowledged the power of Christ, and believed Him to be the God of England, had more confidence in the gods of Odin's race, whom they regarded as still reigning over their own land;^o and it was not until a century

^f Ad. Brem. ii. 56.

^g Schröckh, xxi. 367.

^h Ad. Brem. iii. 14.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxi. 371.

^k Geijer, i. 131.

^m Ib. 132-5; Gieseler, II. i. 403.

ⁿ Descriptio Insularum, 21. ap. Pertz, vii.

^o Münter, i. 435.

later that a purer and more complete Christianity was introduced into Norway.

Eric "of the Bloody Axe," whose cruelties had rendered him detested by his subjects, was dethroned in 938 by his brother Haco.^p The new king had been educated as a Christian in the English court, under Athelstan, and was resolved to establish his own faith among his subjects.^q Some of his chief adherents were won to embrace the Gospel. He postponed the great heathen feast of Yule from midwinter in order that it might fall in with the celebration of the Saviour's nativity; and while the other Norwegians were engaged in their pagan rejoicings, Haco and his friends, in a building by themselves, kept the Christian festival. Clergy were brought from England, and some congregations of converts were formed.^r But when the reception of Christianity

A.D. 956-7.

was proposed in the national assembly, a general murmur arose. It was said that the rest of Sunday and Friday, which was required, could not be afforded. The servants who had attended their masters to the meeting cried out that, if they were to fast, their bodies would be so weakened as to be unfit for work. Many declared that they could not desert the gods under whom their forefathers and themselves had so long prospered; they reminded the king how his people had aided him in gaining the crown, and told him that, if he persisted in his proposal, they would choose another in his stead.^s Haco found himself obliged to yield. He was forced to preside at the next harvest sacrifice, where he publicly drank to the national gods; and, as he made the sign of the cross over his cup, Sigurd, his chief adviser, told the company that it was meant to signify the hammer of their god Thor. But the heathen party were unsatisfied. Eight of their chiefs bound themselves to extirpate Christianity; they assaulted and killed some of the clergy, and at the following Yule-feast Haco was compelled to submit to further compliances—to drink to the gods without making the sign of the cross, and to prove himself a heathen by eating part of the liver of a horse which had been offered in sacrifice.^t Feeling this constraint intolerable, he resolved to meet his opponents in arms; but an invasion by Eric's sons, who had obtained aid from Harold Blaatand of Denmark,

^p Snorro Sturleson, i. 316; Münter, i. 441. had taken the name of Athelstan. Gesch. i. 371-3.

^q Snorro, i. 310. Lappenberg thinks that the Athelstan in question may have been, not the Anglo-Saxon king, but one of the Danish kings of East Anglia, who

^r Snorro, i. 326.

^s Snorro, i. 328-9; Münter, i. 443-4.

^t Snorro, i. 330-1. Comp. above, p.

induced the Norwegian parties to enter into a reconciliation, and to turn their arms against the common enemy. From that time Haco lived in harmony with his people, not only tolerating their heathenism, but himself yielding in some degree to the influence of a heathen queen. In 963 his nephews renewed their attack, and Haco was mortally wounded. He expressed a wish, in case of recovery, to retire to some Christian land, that he might endeavour by penance to expiate his compliances, which weighed on his conscience as if he had been guilty of apostacy. But when his friends proposed that he should be carried to England for burial, he answered that he was unworthy of it—that he had lived as a heathen, and as a heathen should be buried in Norway.^u His death was lamented by a Scald in a famous song, which celebrates his reception into Walhalla, and intimates that, in consideration of the tolerance which he had shown towards the old religion, his own Christianity was forgiven by the gods.^x

Harold, the son of Eric, who now became master of the kingdom, endeavoured to spread Christianity by forcible means. After some commotions, in the course of which the son of Eric was slain, Harold Blaataud added Norway to his domi-
A.D. 977.
nions, and appointed a viceroy, named Haco, who, unlike his master, was so devoted a pagan, that he sacrificed one of his own children. The viceroy exerted himself for the restoration of paganism, and by the help of the party who adhered to it, established himself in independence of the Danish king. But the oppressed Christians invited to their relief Olave, the son of a petty prince named Tryggve, and Haco was dethroned in 995.^y

Olave Tryggvesen is celebrated in the northern chronicles as the strongest, the bravest, and the most beautiful of men.^z After a life of wild adventure, in the course of which he had visited Russia and Constantinople, and had spread terror along the coasts of the western ocean, he had been baptised by a hermit in one of the Scilly Islands, and had been confirmed by Elphege, bishop of Winchester, in the presence of the English king Ethelred.^a
A.D. 994.
His Christian practice was far from perfect; for he married his stepmother, and endeavoured to obtain a knowledge of the future by the arts of divination; yet his zeal for his new religion was

^u Snorro, i. 332, seqq.; Münter, i. 450.

^x It is translated by Bp. Münter, i. 452-5, and by Mr. Laing, Snorro, i. 346.

^y Münter, i. 458-463.

^z Snorro, i. 397. For his history, see the vith Saga. Hume confounds him with *Sind* Olave, i. 129.

^a Flor. Vigorn. i. 152; Snorro, i. 398.

unbounded, and manifested itself in exertions for the spreading of the faith which savoured less of the Christian spirit than of his old piratical habits and of the despotism which he had seen in Russia and in the eastern empire.^b Gifts and privileges of various kinds, and even marriage with the king's beautiful sisters, were held out to the chiefs as inducements to embrace the Gospel; while those who should refuse were threatened with confiscation of property, with banishment, mutilation, tortures, and death.^c In the most blameable of his proceedings, Olave was much influenced by the counsels of Thangbrand, a German priest from whom he had derived his first knowledge of the Gospel, but whose character was so violent, that he did not scruple even to kill those who offended or thwarted him.^d The king visited one district after another, for the purpose of establishing Christianity. "Wheresoever he came," says Snorro Sturleson, in describing one of his circuits, "to the land or to the islands, he held an assembly, and told the people to accept the right faith and to be baptised. No man dared to say anything against it, and the whole country which he passed through was made Christian."^e Strange stories are related of the adventures which he encountered in destroying idols and temples, and of the skill and presence of mind with which he extricated himself from the dangers which he often incurred on such occasions. In one place he found eighty heathens who professed to be wizards. He made one attempt to convert them when they were sober, and another over their horns of ale; and, as they were not to be won in either state, he set fire to the building in which they were assembled. The chief of the party alone escaped from the flames; but he afterwards fell into the king's hands, and was thrown into the sea.^f Another obstinate pagan and sorcerer had a serpent forced down his throat; the creature ate its way through his body, and caused his death.^g A less unpleasing tale relates to Olave's dealings with a young hero named Endrid, who at length agreed that his religion should be decided by the event of a contest between himself and a champion to be appointed by the king. Olave himself appeared in that character; in a trial which lasted three days he triumphantly defeated Endrid in swimming, in diving, in archery, and in sword-play; and having thus prepared him for the reception of Christian doctrine, he completed his con-

^b Ad. Brem. ii. 38; Snorro, i. 427, seqq.; Schröckh, xxi. 377-9; Münter, i. 468, 494.

^c Münter, i. 468; Neander, v. 408.

^d Neander, v. 407.

^e i. 445.

^f Münter, i. 487.

^g Snorro, i. 448.

version by instructing him in the principles of the faith.^h The insular parts of Olave's dominions were included in his labours for the extension of the Gospel; he forced the people of the Orkneys, of the Shetland, the Faroe, and other islands, to receive Christianity at the sword's point.ⁱ In obedience to a vision which he had seen at a critical time, Olave chose St. Martin as the patron of Norway, and ordered that the cup which had been usually drunk in honour of Thor should in future be dedicated to the saint.^k In 997, he founded the bishoprick of Nidarôs or Drontheim.

Olave's zeal for Christianity at length cost him his life. Sigrid, the beautiful widow of a Swedish king, after having resisted the suit of the petty princes of Sweden so sternly that she even burnt one of them in his castle, in order (as she said) to cure the others of their desire to win her hand,^m conceived the idea of marrying the King of Norway, and visited his court. Olave was inclined to the match; but, on her refusal to be baptised, he treated her with outrageous indignity, which filled her with a vehement desire of vengeance. She soon after married Sweyn of Denmark. Her new husband, and the child of her first marriage, Olave Stotkonung, combined, at her urgent persuasion, in an expedition against Norway, and their force was strengthened by a disaffected party of Norwegians, under Eric, son of that Haco whom Olave had put down. A naval engagement took place, and the fortune of the day was against Olave. His ship, the "Long Dragon," after a desperate defence, was boarded; on which the king and nine companions, who were all that remained of the crew, threw themselves A.D. 1000. into the sea, in order that they might not fall into the hands

of their enemies.ⁿ Rude and violent as Olave was, he was so beloved by his subjects that many are said to have died out of grief for him, and even the heathens cherished his memory. He was believed to be a saint; it was said that he had performed miracles, and that angels had been seen to visit him while at his prayers; and legends represented him as having long survived the disastrous fight. Nearly fifty years later, it is told, a Norwegian named Gaude, who had lost his way among the sands of Egypt, was directed by a dream to a monastery, where, to his surprise, he found an aged abbot of his own country. The old man's questions were such that the pilgrim was led to ask whether he were himself King Olave. The answer was ambiguous; but the abbot charged Gaude, on

^h Münter, i. 474-5.

ⁱ Münter, i. 480, 550-2.

^k Schröckh, xxi. 378.

^m Gieseler, i. 120.

ⁿ Snorro, i. 433, 469. seqq.; Münter, i. 493.

returning to Norway, to deliver a sword and a girdle to a warrior who had sought death with Olave but had been rescued from the waves; and to tell him that on the fatal day no one had borne himself more bravely than he. Gaude performed his commission, and the veteran, on receiving the gifts and the message, was assured that the Egyptian abbot could be no other than his royal master.^o

The progress of the Gospel in Norway was slow during some years after the end of Olave Tryggvesen's reign. But his godchild Olave the son of Harold, who became king in 1015,^p was bent on carrying on the work. Many missionaries were invited from England; at their head was a bishop named Grimkil, who drew up a code of ecclesiastical law for Norway.^q Although his own character was milder than that of Olave Tryggvesen, the king pursued the old system of enforcing Christianity by such penalties as confiscation, blinding, mutilation, and death.^r In company with Grimkil, he made journeys throughout his dominions for the purpose of establishing the faith. He found that under the pressure of scarcity the people were accustomed to relapse into the practice of sacrificing to their old gods. He often had to encounter armed resistance.^s At Dalen, in 1025, the inhabitants had been excited by the report of his approach, and on arriving he found 700 exasperated pagans arrayed against him. But, although his own party was only half the number, he put the peasants to flight, and a discussion on the merits of the rival religions ensued. Grimkil—"the horned man," as the heathens called him from the shape of his cap or mitre—maintained the cause of Christianity; to which the other party, headed by a chief named Gudbrand, replied that their own god Thor was superior to the Christians' God, inasmuch as he could be seen. The king spent a great part of the following night in prayer. Next morning at daybreak, the huge idol of Thor was brought to the place of conference. Olave pointed to the rising sun as a visible witness to his God who created it; and, while the heathens were gazing on its brightness, a gigantic soldier, in fulfilment of orders which he had before received from the king, raised his club and knocked the idol to pieces. A swarm of loathsome creatures, which had found a dwelling within its body, and had fattened on the daily offerings of food and drink,

^o Münter, i. 493-5.

^p Mr. Laing dates his accession in this year, and his death in 1030 (ii. 339). Others give the dates 1017 and 1033 respectively. Münter, i. 500.

^q Ad. Brem, ii. 55. This code, which

is known by the name of *Kristniðett*, is now lost, although fragments exist in the laws of Iceland and in the later Norwegian law. Münter, i. 501-2.

^r Snorro, ii. 79, 147.

^s Ib. 178-9.

rushed forth; and the men of Dalen, convinced of the vanity of their old superstition, consented to be baptised.^f

The forcible means which Olave used in favour of his religion, the taxes which he found it necessary to impose, and the rigour with which he proceeded for the suppression of piracy and robbery, aroused great discontent among his subjects. Canute of Denmark and England was encouraged to claim the kingdom of Norway; his gold won many of the chiefs to his interest, and Olave, finding himself deserted, fled into Russia, where he was honourably received by Yaroslaff, and was invited to settle by the offer of a province.^g But while hesitating between the acceptance of this offer and the execution of an idea which he had entertained of becoming a monk at Jerusalem, he was diverted by a vision in which Olave Tryggesen exhorted him to attempt the recovery of the kingdom which God had given him.^h The Swedish king supplied him with some soldiers; and, on his landing in Norway, multitudes flocked to his standard. He refused the aid of all who were unbaptised; many received baptism from no other motive than a wish to be allowed to aid him; and his soldiers marched with the sign of the cross on their shields.ⁱ On the eve of a battle he gave a large sum of money to be laid out for the souls of his enemies who should fall; those who should lose their lives for his own cause, he said, were assured of salvation.^j But the forces of the enemy were overpowering, and Olave was defeated and slain.^k

After a time his countrymen repented of their conduct towards him. It was rumoured that he had done miracles in Russia, and on his last fatal expedition; his blood had healed a wound in the hand of the warrior who killed him; a blind man, on whose eyes it had been accidentally rubbed, had recovered his sight; and other cures of a like kind were related.^l A year after his death his body was disinterred by Grimkil, when no signs of decay appeared, and the hair and nails had grown. The remains of the king were removed to the church of St. Clement at Nidarôs, which he himself had built, and were enclosed in a magnificent silver shrine.^m St. Olave was chosen as the patron of Norway; his fame was spread far and wide by a multitude of miracles, and pilgrims from distant countries flocked to his tomb for cure;ⁿ tribute was paid to him by Norway and

^f Snorro, ii. 155-160. Compare vol. i. p. 259.

^g Snorro, ii. 154, 268, 273, 287; Flor. Vigorn. i. 184.

^h Snorro, ii. 295-6.

ⁱ Ib. 303-9, 320.

^j Ib. 313.

^k Ib. 332.

^l Ib. 297, 306, 333, 340-6; Münter, i. 513.

^m Snorro, ii. 315, 369.

ⁿ Ad. Brem. Deser. Insularum, 32.

Sweden, and churches were dedicated to his honour not only in the western countries, but in Russia and at Constantinople.^c

Canute, after becoming master of Norway, encouraged religion there as in his other dominions. By him the first Benedictine monastery in the kingdom was founded near Drontheim.^d Harold Hadrada, Olave's half-brother, a rough and irreligious man, who became king in 1047, had some differences with pope Alexander II., and with Adalbert archbishop of Bremen. The king said that he knew no archbishop in Norway except himself, and obtained ordination for bishops from England and from France; while Adalbert, declaring that he had but two masters, the pope and the emperor, paid no regard to the northern sovereign, and erected sees in his dominions against his will.^e Norway, like the rest of Western Christendom, submitted to the dominion of Rome.^h

XIII. The island of Iceland became known to the Norwegians in 860, when a Norwegian vessel was cast on its coast.ⁱ Many emigrants from Norway soon resorted to it, especially after the great victory of Harold the Fairhaired at Hafursfiord, in 883, by which a number of petty kings or chiefs were driven from their native country to seek a home elsewhere.^k The settlers were of the highest and most civilised class among the Northmen, and the state of society in the new community took a corresponding character. The land was parcelled out, and the Icelanders, renouncing the practice of piracy, betook themselves to trade—exchanging the productions of their island for the corn, the wood, and other necessities which it did not afford.^m A republican form of government was established, and lasted for four hundred years. It had its national and provincial assemblies; its chief was the *Lawman*,ⁿ elected for life, whose office it was to act as conservator of the laws, and with this magistracy the function of priest was joined. The worship of Odin was established, but there appears to have been an entire freedom as to religion.^o

It is said that the colonists found in Iceland traces of an Irish mission—such as service-books, bells, and pastoral crooks—although

^c Snorro, ii. 330-2; Schröckh, xxi. 384-5.

^d Schröckh, xxi. 383.

^e Ad. Brem. iii. 16; Schröckh, xxi. 469; Alex. II., ap. Hard. vi. 1079.

^h See, for the character of the Norwegians, Ad. Brem. Deser. Insul. 20.

ⁱ Henderson's Iceland, I. xiii. Edinb. 1818.

^k Snorro, i. 289; Depping, ii. 45-7.

^m Laing, i. 56-8. But Henderson says that there is evidence that wood formerly grew in Iceland. I. x. Adam of Bremen says "Nulla' ibi fruges, minima signorum copia." Deser. Insul. 35.

ⁿ *Lög-öfundr*, or publisher of the law. Henderson, I. xxii.

^o Schröckh, xxi. 387; Henderson, I. xvi.-xxiv.; Depping, ii. 49-50; Munter, i. 521-6.

the natives, having been left without any clergy, had relapsed into paganism.^p Some of the Norwegians themselves may also have carried with them such mixed and imperfect notions of Christianity as were to be gathered in the intercourse of their roving and adventurous life; but the knowledge of the Gospel was neither spread among the other members of the community nor transmitted to their descendants.^q In 981, an Icelander named Thorwald, who had formerly been a pirate, but even then had been accustomed to spend such part of his plunder as he could spare in redeeming captives from other pirates, brought with him to the island a Saxon bishop named Frederick, by whom he had been converted.^r A church was built, and Frederick's instructions were well received, although most of his proselytes refused to be baptised—being ashamed, it is said, to expose themselves naked, and to wear the white dress which in their country was worn by children only.^s An influential convert, named Thorkil, before submitting to baptism, desired that it might be administered by way of experiment to his aged and infirm father-in-law; and, as the old man died soon after, Thorkil put off his own baptism for some years.^t The worshippers of Odin were roused to enmity by the rough manner in which Thorwald proceeded to spread his religion. After five years, he and the bishop were expelled, and took refuge in Norway, where Thorwald, meeting with one of those who had most bitterly opposed him in Iceland, killed him. Frederick, hopeless of effecting any good in company with so lawless an associate, returned to his own country, and it is supposed that Thorwald, after many years of wandering, founded a monastery in Russia or at Constantinople, and there died.^u

Olave Tryggvesen—partly, perhaps, from political motives—was desirous of establishing the Gospel in Iceland, and, after some earlier attempts to forward its progress, sent Thangbrand into the island in 997. The choice of a missionary was unfortunate; Thangbrand, it is said, performed some miracles, but he proceeded with his usual violence, and, after having killed one of his opponents and two scalds who had composed scurrilous verses on him, he was driven out.^x Olave, on receiving his report of this, was very indignant, and was about to undertake an expedition for the punishment

^p Münter, i. 520; Laing, i. 40. Lani-gan supposes that the Irish clergy remained until the arrival of the Norwegians, and were then expelled. iii. 228.

^q Münter, i. 524-5.

^r Münter supposes Frederick to have

been an ecclesiastic of Hamburg or Bremen, ordained by the archbishop for the mission. i. 527.

^s Schröckh, xxi. 388, 390.

^t Münter, i. 531.

^u Münter, i. 532.

^x Snorro, i. 442; Münter, i. 535-6.

of the Icelanders, when Gissur and Hjalte, two natives of the island, obtained his consent to the employment of milder measures for the conversion of their countrymen. By the promise of a sum of money they secured the co-operation of the lawman Thorgeir, who, after addressing the national assembly in an exhortation to peace and unity, proposed a new law by way of compromise. All the islanders were to be baptised, the temples were to be destroyed, and public sacrifices were to cease; but it was to be allowed to eat horseflesh, to expose children, and to offer sacrifice in private.^y The proposal was adopted, and Christian instruction gradually prevailed over such remnants of heathenism as the law allowed. St. Olave took an interest in the Christianity of Iceland; he sent an English bishop named Bernard to labour there, and exerted himself to procure the acceptance of Grinkil's ecclesiastical laws, and the abolition of the practice of exposing children.^z

Although Iceland was from time to time visited by bishops, the need of a fixed episcopate was felt, and in 1056 the see of Skalholt was erected. Isleif, a son of Gissur, who had been educated at Erfurt and had made a pilgrimage to Rome, was elected as bishop, and, in obedience to an order from the pope, was consecrated by Adalbert of Bremen.^a A second see was founded at Hóllum in 1107. The bishops, being taken from the most distinguished families, and invested, like the priests of the old idolatry, with secular power, became the most important members of the community. Adam of Bremen, who draws a striking picture of the contented poverty, the piety, and the charity of the Icelanders, tells us that they obeyed their bishop as a king.^b The Icelanders traded to all quarters; their clergy, educated in Germany, France, and England, carried back the knowledge and the civilisation of foreign countries. And in this remote and ungenial island grew up a vernacular literature of annals, poems, and *sagas* or historical legends—the oldest literature of the Scandinavians, and the only source of information as to a great part of northern history. This literature flourished for two centuries, until, on the reduction of Iceland to tribute by the Norwegians in 1261, Latin became there as elsewhere the language of letters.^c

XIV. From Iceland the Gospel made its way into a yet more

^y Snorro, i. 548; Münter, i. 511.

^z Münter, i. 544; Neander, v. 419.

A revision of Grinkil's code for Iceland was executed in 1123. Henderson, I. lii.

^a Adam. Brem. Deser. Insul. 35.

^b Ib.

^c Schröckh, xxi. 391; Münter, i. 546; Depping, ii. 191-1.

distant region. In 982, an Icelander named Eric the Red, being sentenced to banishment on account of having killed a man, resolved to seek out a coast which had some years before been seen by one Gumbiorn.^d Four years later, when the time of his banishment was expired, Eric returned to Iceland, and induced many of his countrymen to accompany him to the land of his refuge, to which the name of Greenland was given.^e In 999, Leif, the son of Eric, visited Norway, where Olave Tryggvesson induced him to receive baptism; and on his return to Greenland he was accompanied by a priest.^f The colony flourished for centuries. In 1055, a bishop was consecrated for it by Adalbert of Bremen. There were thirteen churches in the eastern part of Greenland, four in the western, and three or four monasteries.^g Sixteen bishops in succession presided over the church of Greenland. From the year 1276 they took their title from the see of Gardar; they were subject to the archbishop of Nidarôs, and were in the habit of attending synods in Norway as well as in Iceland. And even from this extremity of the earth tribute was paid to the successors of St. Peter.^h But from the earlier part of the fifteenth century Greenland was lost to the knowledge of Europeans. The ice accumulated on its shores, so as to render them inaccessible, and the seventeenth bishop destined for the church was unable to land. The pestilence known as the "Black Death" wasted the population, and it is supposed that when thus weakened, they were overpowered by tribes of Skrällings (Esquimaux) from the continent of North America, the ancestors of the present inhabitants.ⁱ

The Northmen appear to have pushed their discoveries from Greenland to the American continent. Leif, the son of Eric, is said to have sailed southward, and to have explored several coasts, to one of which the name of *Vinland* (or Wineland) was given,

^d Henderson, I. xxviii.; Laing, iii. 143.

^e Münter, i. 555-6. Some say that the name was given on account of the rich verdure; Adam of Bremen says that it was because the inhabitants were "a *salu cœrulei*." Deccr. Ins. 26.

^f Snorro, i. 455, 465.

^g Münter, i. 557; Laing, i. 141. The number of churches and monasteries is somewhat variously given.

^h Münter, i. 556-8.

ⁱ Münter, i. 560, and the Bull of Nicolas V., which he quotes, p. 584; Laing, i. 145, 152-3. There were two districts in the colony Ostre Bygd and Vestre Bygd, of which the eastern was the more flourishing. Cape Farewell was

long regarded as the point of division between them, and there was a belief that the eastern settlement had escaped the fate of the western, so that the descendants of the Scandinavian colonists might still exist on the icebound coast of East Greenland. But a Danish expedition in 1829-30 could find no trace that East Greenland had ever been inhabited; and it seems to be now agreed that the ancient settlements were both on the coast north-west of Cape Farewell, Ostre Bygd being the part nearest to the Cape. Laing, i. 150; Scoresby, in Encyc. Brit., 8th edit., xi. 39 (art. "Greenland.")

because one of his companions, a native of Southern Germany, recognised the vine among its productions;^k and there is a tradition that in the middle of the eleventh century an Irish bishop, named John, preached and was martyred in the regions thus discovered. But it would seem that no confidence can be placed in the conjectures or inquiries which profess to have found in America traces of a Christianity planted by the Scandinavian adventurers of the middle ages.^m

^k An account of this voyage is interpolated in some copies of Snorrio Sturleson. See Laing, iii. 314, seqq.; Adam Brem. Descr. Insul. 38. Vinland is supposed to have been about Rhode

Island. Encycl. Brit. ii. 698 (art. "America").

^m See Münter, i. 562-3; Laing, i. 161, seqq.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) THE relations of the papacy with secular powers, and especially with the emperors of the west, were governed rather by circumstances than by any settled theory. On each side there were claims which were sometimes admitted and sometimes denied by the other party; but even when they were admitted, the enforcement of them depended on the questions whether the claimant were strong and whether circumstances were favourable to him.

The German emperors still retained the same rights of sovereignty over Rome which had been held by the Carolingians. The imperial share in the appointment of the pope by means of commissioners continued, and popes were even glad to sanction it afresh, as a means of averting the disorders incident to an election carried on amid the fury of the Roman factions and the violence of the neighbouring nobles. A synod under John IX. in 898, when Lambert had been crowned as emperor, enacted that, for the prevention of such violences and scandals as had taken place through the absence of imperial commissioners, the presence of commissioners should be necessary at future elections;^a and in another canon it threatens the emperor's indignation, as well as spiritual penalties, against any who should renew the disorders which had been usual on the death of a pope, when the palace was invaded by plunderers, who often extended their depredations over the city and its suburbs.^b And, although the document bearing the name of Leo VIII., which confers on Otho the Great and his successors the power of nominating to the papacy as well as to the empire, is probably spurious, its provisions agree with the state of things which actually existed at the time.^c The emperor was regarded as having the power to decide the appeals of Roman subjects who had been aggrieved by the pope.^d Emperors even deposed popes, and that not by any wanton exercise of force, but

^a C. x. ap. Pertz, *Leges*, II. App. 529; Gieseler, II. i. 210. 153; or Hard. vi. 489. This synod has sometimes been wrongly dated in 904. See above, p. 385; Pagi, xv. 489, 494.

^b C. xi.

^c See above, p. 390, note ^p.

^d Schmidt, ii. 167.

as if the proceeding were a necessary duty. We have seen that Otho the Great was extremely reluctant to proceed against the wretched young debauchee John XII.^e It was considered that even the pope was not irresponsible on earth, and that for the execution of manifest justice on the chief of the church the highest secular authority was entitled to intervene.^f Yet on the whole the popes were gaining, and were preparing to secure advantages for their successors.

Charlemagne, in reviving the empire of Rome, probably hoped to become master of the popes; but the event redounded to the benefit of the papacy. Leo surprised Charlemagne himself into receiving the crown from his hands. Although the great emperor was careful that his son should assume it in such a manner that it should appear to be held independently of the Roman sanction, Louis submitted to be crowned afresh by the hands of Stephen IV. The popes continued to crown the emperors until an opinion was settled in the minds of men that the highest of secular dignities could only be conferred by God himself through the instrumentality of his chief minister, the successor of St. Peter; and, although the possession of the Italian kingdom was regarded as conferring a title to the empire, the imperial name was not assumed by the German sovereigns of Italy until they had been crowned at Rome by the hands of the pope.^g

As the eastern bishops, by appealing to the emperor in their differences, had established an imperial supremacy in spiritual things, so the princes of the west, by referring their quarrels to the pope, and by asking him to ratify their conquests, contributed to invest him with a power of arbitration and control which more and more claimed a superiority over all secular government. And this was enhanced by the pope's assumption of an universal censorship of morals, and by his wielding the terrors of excommunication, which made kings tremble, not only by the direct exclusion from spiritual privileges, but by the apprehension of the effects which such a sentence might produce among their people. But the wideness and the variety of the scene on which the popes acted, was also conducive to the growth of their authority, since an attempt which was foiled by the energy of one opponent succeeded elsewhere against the weakness of another, and thenceforward became a precedent for general application.^h In newly converted kingdoms, such as Hungary and Poland, the power of the pope

^e P. 289.

^f Schmidt, ii. 167, 216.

^g Planck, iii. 270.

^h Schmidt, ii. 691.

over the national church was from the first established as a principle;ⁱ nor did the shameful degradation of the papacy during a large portion of this period produce any considerable effect on its estimation in foreign countries, where little or nothing was heard of the pope as an individual, but he was regarded only as the successor of the chief apostle.^k

The territorial power and income of the papacy were limited by the encroachments of the Italian nobles and by the invasions of the Saracens. But the popes found new sources of wealth in the practice of annexing to their see the revenues of bishopricks and abbeys in various parts of Christendom, and in payments levied from countries which were in communion with them, such as the Peter-pence of England and the tribute paid by Poland. And a continual succession of forgeries made it appear that such territories as the see of Rome possessed were but portions of a far larger inheritance, which of right belonged to it by virtue of donations made by emperors and other sovereigns from the time of Constantine the Great.^m

The policy of the popes towards the church aimed at centralising all authority in the papacy. The principles of the forged decretals were taken as a foundation of their claims. Titles more pompous than before were given by those who wished to pay court to them, and were not refused. The epithet *universal*, which Gregory the Great had declared to be unfit for any Christian prelate, was given to Nicolas I. by Adventius bishop of Metz and by Charles the Bald,ⁿ and afterwards became usual. Adventius styles Nicolas "Your Majesty"^o—a phrase which was very commonly used by Peter Damiani in addressing the popes of his time. Theotmar, archbishop of Salzburg, and his suffragans address John IX. as "Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope, not of a single city but of the whole world."^p Some bishops avowed that they held their episcopate from God through St. Peter—i. e. through the apostle's successors in the see of Rome.^q The claims involved in the new pretensions of the papacy were at first somewhat indefinite. What was meant by the pope's universal episcopate? What was his supreme judicature? When and how was it to be exercised? But when once such vague and sounding titles had been impressed on the general mind, it was in the power of the popes to make

ⁱ Planck, iii. 829.

^k Ib. 270, 287, 372.

^m Schröckh, xvii. 395-6, 400.

ⁿ Hard. v. 321, 323.

^o Ib. 321, c.

^p Ib. vi. 483.

^q Heriveus, and a synod at Rheims, A.D. 900; Ib. 467.

almost any deductions whatever from them.^r The claim which Nicolas advanced for obedience to all the decrees of popes rested on a different ground from that which had sometimes been put forward by his predecessors. In earlier times, such a claim was founded on the supposition that Rome was the most faithful guardian of apostolic faith and practice, or, at the utmost, that the pope was the highest expounder of the law—not that he pretended to a power of legislation. But now it was rested simply on the ground that Rome was Rome; and the matter set forth under the sanction of such a pretension consisted of a forgery which professed to derive a new and unheard-of system of papal domination from the earliest ages of the church.^s

The party which relied on the authority of the decretals was bent on humbling the class of metropolitans. There are circumstances which seem to indicate that metropolitans had begun to assume power greater than that which had in earlier times belonged to them. But the design was not limited to reducing them within their ancient bounds; they were not to be allowed any power of judicature over bishops; and when they were stripped of their judicial power, their authority as superintendents or inspectors was not likely to be much regarded.^t It was the interest of bishops to aid the popes in a course which annihilated the power of metropolitans and provincial synods over members of the episcopate, and subjected these to the pope alone. There were even inducements which might persuade metropolitans to consent to sacrifice the independence of their own order. They, in common with other bishops, were strengthened against secular princes by an alliance with the papacy. They felt that their dignity was enhanced by a connexion with a power which exalted religion above all earthly authority;^u and the use of the pall was of great effect in reconciling them to the change. The pall, originally a part of the imperial attire, had been at first bestowed by the eastern emperors on the patriarchs of their capital. In the fifth and sixth centuries it was bestowed on other patriarchs, and in time it was given by popes and patriarchs to bishops, although the imperial consent was necessary before the honour could be conferred on a bishop whose predecessors had not enjoyed it.^x The pall was sent by the popes to their vicars; it was regarded as the

^r Planck, iii. 807-8; Gieseler, II. i. 254-5.

^s Schröckh, xxii. 461; Planck, iii. 855.

^t Planck, iii. 812-5.

^u Planck, iii. 788, 790, 818.

^x Planck, iii. 857-8.

mark of a special connexion with the Roman see, to which the receiver was bound by a strict oath of subjection and obedience. When some metropolitans had thus received it, others, wishing to be on a level with them, made application for a like distinction; it came to be regarded as the ensign of metropolitan dignity and that dignity came to be regarded as a gift of the pope.^y Nicolas, in his answer to the Bulgarians, lays it down that their future archbishop shall not exercise his office until he receive the pall from Rome; such, he says, is the usage in Gaul, Germany, and other countries;^z and John VIII., at the synod of Ravenna, in 877, enacted that every metropolitan should, within three months after his election, send to Rome a statement of his faith, and a petition for the pall.^a

Thus the metropolitans received some compensation for the loss of their independent power in their especial connexion with Rome, and in their exercise of jurisdiction as delegates of the pope. The pall, moreover, became a source of profit to the Roman treasury. Fees were exacted for it; and so high were they in some cases that Canute, on his pilgrimage to Rome, complained to the pope of the exorbitant amount required from English archbishops, and obtained a promise of an abatement in future.^b That metropolitans submitted to heavy payments for the sake of obtaining this ensign, is a proof that the advantage of such a sanction for their authority must have been strongly felt.

The metropolitans lost less in England and in Germany than elsewhere. In England the whole foundation of the church rested on the primacy of Canterbury. In Germany the metropolitans of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Salzburg, held high dignities of the empire as annexed to their sees. Yet in the case of the great German prelates, there was the disadvantage that the popular opinion unconsciously referred their power not to their spiritual but to their secular offices.^c

In addition to their vicars, the popes appointed *legates* to exercise some of their functions, such as that of holding councils for the investigation of cases which had been referred to Rome, or in which the popes took it on themselves to interfere. These legates were sometimes ecclesiastics sent from Italy; but as foreign ecclesiastics were regarded with suspicion by princes, it was more usual to give the legatine commission to some bishop of the country in

^y Planck, 863-9.

^z C. 73. Hard. v. 377.

^a C. 1. Hard. vi. 184.

^b Canut. Ep. ap. Will. Malmesb. i.

310.

^c Planck, iii. 795-6; Schmidt, i. 685.

which the inquiry was to take place.^d Even kings were sometimes invested with the authority of papal legates, as we have seen in the instance of Charles the Bald at the council of Pontyon in 876.^e

The claims of the pope to exclusive jurisdiction over bishops was uncontested from the time of the victory gained by John XV. and Gregory V. in the affair of Arnulph of Rheims.^f Persons nominated to bishopricks, if they found any difficulty in obtaining consecration from their own metropolitan, sought it at the hands of the pope; and a Roman synod under Benedict VI., held probably in 983, with a view to the suppression of simony, directed that not only bishops but priests or deacons should repair to Rome for ordination if it were not to be obtained without payment at home.^g Yet to the end of the period the prelates of France and Germany resisted some attempts of the popes to encroach on their rights. The title of *universal bishop* was admitted only as implying a power of general oversight—not as entitling the popes to exercise episcopal functions in every diocese.^h This resistance was especially shown when the popes attempted to interfere with the penitential discipline. Every bishop had been formerly regarded as the sole judge in cases of penance within his own diocese—as the only person who could relax the penance which he had himself imposed. The bishop's power of absolution was still unassailed; there were not as yet any cases reserved for the decision of the pope alone. But the popes began to claim a jurisdiction as to penance similar to that which they were gradually establishing over the church in other respects; they asserted a right of absolving from the penance to which offenders had been sentenced by other bishops.ⁱ The resort of penitents to Rome had been encouraged by various circumstances. In many instances bishops had themselves consulted the pope, or had recommended an application to him, either with a view of escaping responsibility in difficult cases, or in order that the long and toilsome journey to Rome might itself in some measure serve as a penitential exercise.^k But when penitents began to flock to Rome for the purpose of obtaining from the pope the absolution which was refused by their own bishops, or in the belief that the absolution of St. Peter's successor was of superior virtue,^l the practice drew forth strong and frequent protests. Heito of Basel, about 820,

^d Schmidt, i. 696; Planck, iii. 429. 258.

^e P. 327; Schröckh, xxii. 469.

^f Planck, iii. 844.

^g Hard. vi. 712; Planck, iii. 833.

^h Planck, iii. 832; Gieseler, II. i. 255.

ⁱ Planck, iii. 684.

^k Planck, iii. 685.

^l Nicol. I. Ep. 208 ad Carol. Cal. ap.

Hard. v. 235; Neander, vi. 151.

orders that penitents who wish to visit the apostolic city should first confess their sins at home, "because they are to be bound or loosed by their own bishop or priest, and not by a stranger."ⁿ When an English earl, who had been excommunicated by Dunstan for contracting an unlawful marriage, had succeeded, by the employment of influence and money at Rome, in obtaining from the pope a mandate that the archbishop should restore him, Dunstan firmly refused to comply. "I will gladly obey," he said, "when I see him repentant; but so long as he rejoices in his sin, God forbid that, for the sake of any mortal man, or to save my own life, I should neglect the law which our Lord has laid down for His church."^o And to the end of the period a like opposition to the papal assumptions in this respect was maintained.^p All that was as yet conceded to the pope was a power of granting absolution on the application, or with the consent, of the bishop by whom penance had been imposed.^q But in this, as in other matters, principles had already been introduced by which the popes were in no long time entirely to overthrow the ancient rights of the episcopal order.^r

(2.) The secular importance of bishops increased. They took precedence of counts, and at national assemblies they sat before dukes.^s In France many prelates took advantage of the weakness of the later Carolingians, or of the unsettled state of the new dynasty, to obtain grants of royalties (*regalia*)—privileges especially belonging to the crown, such as the right to coin money, to establish markets, to levy tolls, to build fortifications, to hold courts of justice, even for the trial of capital offences.^t Towards the end of the period, however, these bishops for the most part found it necessary, for the sake of security against the aggressions of the nobles, to place themselves under the feudal protection of the sovereign, and in consideration of this the royalties were again resigned.^u

But it was in Germany that the bishops acquired the greatest power. The repeated changes of dynasty in that country were favourable to them. Each new race found it expedient to court them; and the emperors, partly out of respect for religion, partly from a wish to strengthen themselves by the support of the clergy,

ⁿ Gieseler, II. i. 170.

^o Osbert. Vita Dunst. ap. Mabill. vii.

685.

^p See canons 16 and 18 of the Council of Seligenstadt, A.D. 1022; a Letter of Fulbert to John xix. in Bouquet, x. 473; and the second Council of Limoges,

A.D. 1031, in Hardouin, vi. 890-2.

^q Nat. Alex. xiii. 135; Planck, iii. 837, 848; Gieseler, II. i. 258.

^r Planck, iii. 690, 875.

^s Planck, iii. 486.

^t Mosh. ii. 284; Planck, iii. 459.

^u Planck, iii. 492.

and to provide a counterpoise to the lay nobility,^x favoured the advance of the order by bestowing on them grants of royalties, and whole counties or even duchies, with corresponding rights of jurisdiction.^y

In proportion as the bishops became more powerful, it was more important for princes to get the appointment of them into their own hands. The capitulary of Louis the Pious, which enacted a return to the ancient system of free elections, had never taken effect to any considerable extent. In France, in England, and in Germany the choice of bishops was really with the sovereign; even where the right of nomination was contested, as it was by Hincmar in the cases of Cambrai and Beauvais,^z it was allowed that the royal license must precede the election of a bishop, and that the royal confirmation must follow on it. Although the church petitioned for free elections, it would have been well content to secure a right of rejecting persons who were unfit in respect of morals or of learning.^a Even a pope, John X., allows that, by ancient custom, the king's command is necessary to the appointment of a bishop, although he also speaks of the necessity of election by the clergy, and acclamation by the laity.^b Election was for the most part nothing more than acquiescence in the sovereign's nomination; so that while one chronicler always speaks of bishops as being appointed by the emperor, another generally speaks of them as elected.^c A sovereign might refuse to confirm an election, and any substitute proposed by him in such a case was sure to be accepted by the electors.^d And it was in vain that complaints were raised against the system of royal control, or that attempts were made to limit it by laying down new rules as to the qualifications requisite for the episcopate.^e

A remarkable proof of the degree in which the German sovereigns believed the disposal of bishopricks to be a right of their own office, is found in the fact that Henry the Fowler granted to Arnulph duke of Bavaria the privilege of appointing bishops within that territory.^f The saintly emperor Henry II. made bishops by direct nomination. His motive is said to have been a wish to

^x W. Malmesb. 655.

^y Planck, iii. 496; Schröckh, xxii. 589; Luden, vii. 194; Gieseler, II. i. 241.

^z Pp. 301, 331.

^a Conc. Valent. III. A.D. 855, c. 7; Planck, iii. 396-8, 407; Schmidt, i. 667.

^b Ad Hierim. Colon. ap. Hard. vi. 455;

ad Carol. III. ib. 456. See Schröckh, xxii. 423.

^c The first is Adam of Bremen; the second, Thietmar. Schröckh, xxii. 423.

^d Schmidt, ii. 206-8; Gieseler, II. i. 245.

^e Planck, iii. 399, 406-9.

^f Thietmar, i. 15.

secure the appointment of better men than the flocks would have been likely to choose for themselves; and it is said that a comparison between the bishops who owed their sees to his patronage and those who were afterwards elected by the clergy bears out the wisdom and the honesty of his policy.^g We are told that the emperors were sometimes directed by visions to promote certain deserving persons to vacant bishopricks, or to refrain from opposing their election.^h

In the Greek church also the emperors continued to nominate to the most important sees.ⁱ Nicephorus Phocas enacted that no bishop should be appointed without the imperial consent, and when a see was vacant, he committed the revenues to the care of an officer who was bound to limit the expenditure to a certain sum, and to pay over the residue to the treasury.^k The patriarch Polyeuctus refused to crown John Tzimiscees, unless on condition that the law of his predecessor should be abrogated; but the emperor, immediately after his coronation, proceeded to exercise his prerogative by nominating a patriarch for Antioch.^l

Bishopricks became objects of ambition for persons of noble or even royal birth, so that it was at length a rare and surprising case, and even many objections were raised, when any one of obscure origin was raised to fill such a position.^m Attempts were made to render the possession of sees hereditary in certain families; and in Germany these attempts took a peculiar and remarkable turn. A prelate was often able to secure the succession to his see for a nephew or a cousin; and the interest of families in such cases led them not to impoverish but to enrich the see, with a view to the benefit of their own members who were to hold it. It was regarded as a part of the family property, and the bishop might rely on the support of his kinsmen in all his differences and feuds with his other neighbours.ⁿ Henry II. was fond of bestowing bishopricks on wealthy persons, who might be likely to add to the riches of their sees, such as Meinwere, of Paderborn, of whose relations with his imperial patron and kinsman many humorous tales are told by his biographer.^p

But the disposal of bishopricks from motives of family interest naturally introduced great abuses. Not only unfit persons but

^g Schmidt, ii. 209; Schröckh, xxii. 425.

^h Schröckh, xxii. 423.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxii. 426.

^k Cedren. 658.

^l Ib. 664-5; Schröckh, xxii. 427.

^m *E.g.* in the case of Gerbert, p. 398; of Willigis (Schmidt, ii. 202); of Durandus (Gfrörer, iv. 181).

ⁿ Planck, iii. 491-5.

^p Vita Meinweric. cc. 11 &c., ap Pertz, xi.

boys were appointed to sees,¹ from those of Rome and Constantinople downwards. A particularly scandalous case was that of Theophylact, whom his father, the emperor Romanus, resolved to raise to the patriarchate of Constantinople on a vacancy which took place in 928. As the prince was only eleven years of age, a monk named Trypho was made temporary patriarch; but when desired to resign his office, three years later, he was unwilling to comply. It is said that Theophanes, bishop of Casarea, waited on him, and, with great professions of friendship, told him that the emperor intended to eject him on the ground that he was ignorant of letters: "If," he said, "you can disprove this objection, you have nothing to fear." At the suggestion of his insidious visitor, Trypho wrote his name and style on a paper, which was afterwards annexed to another, containing an acknowledgment that he was unfit for the patriarchate, and expressing a wish to retire from it. Trypho was thus set aside, and, after a vacancy of a year and a half, Theophylact, at the age of sixteen, became patriarch in 933, being installed in his office by legates of pope John XI.² During three and twenty years Theophylact disgraced the patriarchal throne. He introduced indecent music and dances into the service of the church; but he was chiefly distinguished by his insane fondness for horses, of which he kept more than two thousand. Instead of the ordinary diet, they were fed with dates, figs, raisins, almonds, and other fruits, which were steeped in costly wines and flavoured with the most delicate spices. It is related that once, while performing the eucharistic rites on Thursday before Easter, the patriarch was informed that a favourite mare had foaled. He immediately left the church, and, after having gratified himself by the sight of the mother and her offspring, returned to finish the service of the day. In order to provide for the vast expenses of his stud, he shamelessly sold all sorts of spiritual offices. His end was worthy of his life; his head was dashed against a wall in riding, and, after having lingered two years, he died in consequence of the accident.³

Complaints of simony in the appointment to ecclesiastical offices, whether high or low, are incessant during this period. The practice of paying for preferments, as distinguished from ordination, found defenders; but the defence was indignantly met by such writers as cardinal Humbert and Peter Damiani, whose names will

¹ See Atto, bishop of Verelli, quoted by Gieseler, II. i. 249. He says, as to the general condition of bishops—"Irregulose eliguntur, inaniter ordinantur, indifferenter accusantur, injuste oppri-

muntur, perfide deiciuntur, crudeliter aliquando et necantur."

² Cedren. 627-9; Finlay, ii. 356.

³ Ib. 638-9.

frequently come before us hereafter.^t The distinction between orders and benefices, says Peter, is as absurd as if one were to say that a man is father of his son's body only, and not of his soul." The simoniacal practices of sovereigns are supposed to have originated from the custom of offering gifts on being admitted to their presence. Those who were promoted by them to ecclesiastical dignities testified their gratitude by presents, which in course of time took the nature of stipulated payments.^x In this respect the German emperors were pure, as compared with other princes; they sometimes made formal resolutions to refrain from selling their patronage, and to restrain the simoniacal practices of others;^y but their necessities interfered with the fulfilment of their good intentions.^z

Bishops were *invested* in their sees by the western sovereigns. Symbolical forms of investiture are mentioned as early as the time of Clovis,^a and it is said that Louis the Pious invested bishops by delivering to them the pastoral staff.^b But the use of such ceremonies does not appear to have been introduced as a regular practice until the age of the Othos, and was perhaps not completely established until the end of the tenth century.^c The investiture related to the temporalities of the see, which the sovereign was supposed to bestow on the bishops. Hincmar, in his answer to Adrian II., when desired to renounce communion with Charles the Bald,^d marks the distinction between his temporalities, which were at the king's disposal, and his spiritual office, in which he regarded himself as independent. "If I were to act according to your judgment," he tells the pope, "I might continue to chant at the altar of my church, but over its property, its income, and its retainers I should no longer have any power."^e When the feudal system was established, it was natural that bishops, as well as dukes and counts, should be invested in their possessions, and they may have found their advantage in a tie which entitled them to the protection of their liege lord.^f But it became a matter of complaint that the estates and temporal privileges of bishops were conferred on them by means of instru-

^t Neander, vi. 82.

^u See Epp. i. 13; v. 13.

^x Stenzel, i. 108.

^y Gieseler, II. i. 250; Gfrörer, iv. 137-140.

^z Such was the case of Conrad. See Wippo, c. 8; Luden, viii. 36, and note.

^a See Nat. Alex. xiii. 641; Gieseler, II. i. 245.

^b Adam. Brem. i. 32. Ebbo, during his intrusion into Rheims (see p. 310), is said to have *ordained* with ring and staff. Conc. Suess. A.D. 853, ap. Hard. v. 51.

^c Mosh. ii. 347; Planck, iii. 32.

^d See p. 319.

^e Opera, ii. 697. See Planck, iii. 461, 472.

^f Planck, iii. 437, 458.

ments which symbolised their spiritual character—the ring, the figure of marriage with the church, and the crozier or crook, the ensign of pastoral authority. The use of such instruments appeared to signify that the spiritual powers of the episcopate were derived from the gift of earthly princes.^g

By the institution of investiture sovereigns gained new means of control over bishops. They not only held over them the fear lest their gifts might be withdrawn,^h but were able to use the investiture so as to secure to themselves the patronage of sees. In order to elude the royal nomination; bishops sometimes consecrated to a see immediately on the occurrence of the vacancy, and thus threw on the sovereign the difficulty and odium of dislodging a prelate who was already in possession. But princes were now able to prevent such consecrations, by providing that on a bishop's death his ring and staff should at once be seized and sent to them by their officers; for without these insignia the consecration of a successor could not proceed.ⁱ Hence, as we shall see hereafter, it was complained that by the system of investiture the right of canonical election was annulled. Sometimes the election of a bishop was notified to the court, with a petition for his investiture, and in such cases it was always in the prince's power to substitute another person for him who had been elected. Sometimes investiture was given in the name of the sovereign by the prelate who took the chief part in the consecration.^k

Notwithstanding all the lofty pretensions which ecclesiastics now set up as to the superiority of spiritual over royal power,^l they did not practically gain much.^m Hinemar and his brethren of the council of Kiersy told Louis of Germany that bishops ought not, like secular men, to be bound to vassalship; that it was a shameful indignity that the hands which had been anointed with holy chrism, and which daily consecrated the Redeemer's body and blood, should be required to touch the hands of a liege-lord in the ceremony of homage, or that the lips which were the key of heaven should be obliged to swear fealty.ⁿ But they did not obtain any exemption in consequence; and Hinemar himself was afterwards, as a special affront, required to renew his oath of fealty to Charles the Bald.^p

^g Nat. Alex. xiii. 639; Mosh. ii. 347; St. Maera, A.D. 881, capit. i.; and above, Neander, vi. 79. See De Rémusat, "S. Anselme," 281. p. 280.

^h Planck, iii. 467.

ⁱ V. Otton., Pertz, xii. 827.

^k Schröckh, xxii. 434-6; Planck, iii. 469.

^l See, for example, the Council of

ⁿ Gieseler, II. i. 252.

^o Ep. ad Ludov. Germ. regem, c. 15.

Hard. v. 475-6.

^p See p. 328; Planck, iii. 483-5; Gieseler, II. i. 246.

Although bishops were exempt from the power of all inferior judges, kings still retained their jurisdiction over them. Hincmar, in his greatest zeal for the immunities of the clergy, went only so far as to maintain that the royal judgment must be guided by the laws of the church.¹ The enactments of some synods, that a bishop should not be deposed except by twelve of his own order,² are not to be regarded as withdrawing bishops from the judgment of the sovereign, but as prescribing the manner in which this should be exercised. And in cases of treason, princes deposed by their own immediate authority.³ When Hugh Capet brought Arnulph of Rheims to trial before the synod of St. Basol's, no complaint was made of his having already imprisoned him; the petition proposed by Siguin shows that the king's power to inflict capital punishment on the archbishop was admitted; and it was only through the weakness of Robert and through the support of Otho that the pope was able in that case eventually to triumph.⁴

While feeble princes yielded to the hierarchy, powerful princes often dealt forcibly with its members. Otho the Great shut up an archbishop of Mentz and a bishop of Strasburg in a monastery for penance;⁵ and for the offence of having received a duke of Saxony with honours too much resembling those which were paid to the emperor, he obliged Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, to pay heavy penalties—a horse for every bell which had been rung and for every chandelier which had been lighted.⁶ Conrad, on his last expedition to Italy, carried about with him a train of captive bishops; and when Henry III. deposed Widgers from the archbishoprick of Ravenna, the act was highly extolled by the greatest zealot for the privilege of the church, Peter Damiani.⁷

The German emperors, like the Carolingians, assembled synods, took part in them, and ratified their proceedings, but did not, like the Carolingians, publish the decrees as their own enactments.⁸ And the rights of sovereigns in general with respect to such assemblies were diminished. It was still acknowledged that they had the power of summoning councils, but both in France and in Germany councils were gathered without asking the sovereign's permission.⁹ Through the carelessness of the bishops, the custom of holding regular synods fell into disuse; and when they were revived in a

¹ Planck, iii. 439.

² *E. g.* Conc. Tribur. A.D. 895, c. 10.

³ Planck, iii. 441; Gieseler, II. i. 248.

⁴ Planck, iii. 440; Gieseler, II. i. 247.

⁵ Schmidt, ii. 211.

⁶ Thietmar, ii. 18.

⁷ Planck, iii. 443-4.

⁸ Planck, iii. 419; Schmidt, ii. 204-6.

⁹ Planck, iii. 420-2, 921-2.

later age, the powers which kings and emperors had formerly exercised in connexion with them were forgotten.^b

It was regarded as a right of sovereigns to found bishopricks and archbishopricks, and the German emperors exercised it.^c The consent of the prelates whose interest was affected by the new foundation was regarded as necessary, and, in order to obtain it, the founders were sometimes obliged to submit to concession and compromise. Henry II. even prostrated himself before a council at Frankfort in 1006, that he might obtain its assistance in overcoming the objections raised by the bishop of Würzburg against the proposed see of Bamberg.^d

Otho III. took it on himself to erect the archbishopric of Gnesen without asking the consent of the metropolitan of Posen, out of whose province that of Gnesen was to be taken, and the chronicler who relates this speaks doubtfully as to the legality of the act.^e

The popes now began to claim the right of confirming such foundations; but, from the fact that princes laboured to propitiate the local prelates, instead of invoking the pope to overrule their objections, it is clear that the popes were not as yet supposed to have supreme jurisdiction in such cases.^f

Towards the middle of the ninth century there were considerable dissensions as to the position of the chorepiscopi in France. They had become more and more dissatisfied with their position: they complained that their emoluments bore no proportion to their labour, as compared with those of the diocesan bishops, while on the other side there were complaints that the chorepiscopi were disposed to exceed the rights of their commission. The decretals, fabricated in the interest of the bishops, were adverse to the claims of the chorepiscopi.^g Rohan Maur, however, in consequence of an application from Drogo of Metz, wrote in favour of them, and especially in support of their power to ordain priests and deacons with the license of their episcopal superiors.^h The troubles occasioned by Gottschalk may perhaps have contributed to exasperate the difference between the two classes; for Gottschalk had been ordained by a chorepiscopus during the vacancy of the see of Rheims, and, notwithstanding the powerful authority of the Ger-

^b Planck, iii. 423-5, 430-1.

^c Mosheim, ii. 264; Schröckh, xxii. 427-8.

^d Thietmar, vi. 23; Planck, iii. 843. The erection of the see was confirmed by John XVII. Hard. vi. 769, 770.

^e "Ut spero, legitime, sine consensu

tamen præfati præsulis, &c." Thietmar, iv. 28.

^f Schmidt, ii. 222.

^g E. y. Damasus, Ep. 2; Hard. i. 768, seqq.

^h A. D. 847-8. Hard. v. 1417-1424.

man primate, the order of Chorepiscopi was abolished throughout Neustria by a council held at Paris in 849.ⁱ

In the eleventh century a new species of assistant bishops was for the first time introduced. Poppo, bishop of Treves, in 1036 requested Benedict IX. to send him a person qualified to aid him in pontifical acts, and the pope complied by sending an ecclesiastic named Gratian, who must doubtless have already received episcopal consecration. The novelty of the case consisted in the application to the pope, and in the fact that the coadjutor was appointed by him. But it was not until a later time that such coadjutors became common in the church.^k

The practice of taking part in war, which had so often been condemned by councils, became more general among bishops during this period. When the feudal relations were fully established, a bishop was bound, as a part of his duty towards his suzerain, to lead his contingent to the field in person, and it was only as a matter of special favour that a dispensation from this duty could be obtained.^m The circumstances of the time, indeed, appeared in some measure to excuse the warlike propensities of bishops, who might think themselves justified in encouraging their flocks, even by their own example, to resist such determined and pitiless enemies of Christendom as the Saracens, the Northmen, or the Hungarians.ⁿ Some prelates distinguished themselves by deeds of prowess, as Michael of Ratisbon, who, after losing an ear and receiving other wounds in a battle with the Hungarians, was left for dead on the field. While he lay in this condition, a Magyar fell on him, with the intention of despatching him; but the bishop, "being strengthened in the Lord," grappled with his assailant, and, after a long struggle, succeeded in killing him. He then with great difficulty made his way to the camp of his own nation, where he was hailed with acclamations both as a priest and as a warrior, and his mutilation was thenceforth regarded as an honourable distinction.^o

(3.) Although donations of land were still made to the Church, its acquisitions of this kind appear to have been less than in earlier times—partly, perhaps, because such gifts may have seemed to be

ⁱ Gieseler, II. i. 69; Kunstmann's Hrabanus, 146-8; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 211, 256-8.

^k Planck, iii. 783-6.

^m Ib. 464; Gieseler, II. i. 247.

ⁿ Neander, vi. 83.

^o Thietmar, ii. 17. The Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, under

A.D. 1056, give an account of a warlike bishop of Hereford, Athelstan, who was slain in battle by the Welsh, with some of his clergy. Abbots also fought against the Northmen, and some of them were encouraged by the apparition of St. Benedict. Schröckh, xxiii. 15.

less required.^p The foundations and endowments of bishopricks by the German emperors were prompted rather by policy than by devotion. The clergy, therefore, felt the necessity of turning to the best account the revenues to which they were already entitled, and especially the tithes. Tithe had originally been levied from land only, but the obligation of paying it was now extended to all sorts of income. "Perhaps," says the council of Trosley, "some one may say, 'I am no husbandman, I have nothing on which to pay tithe of the fruits of the earth or even of flocks.' Let such an one hearken, whosoever he be—whether he be a soldier, a merchant, or an artisan—the ability by which thou art fed is God's, and therefore thou oughtest to pay tithes to him."^q Many canons are directed to the enforcement of tithes on land newly brought into cultivation;^r and many are directed against claims of exemption. Such claims were sometimes advanced by persons who held lands under ecclesiastical owners, and pretended that it was an oppression to require a second rent of them under another name.^s Otho I. granted in 948 that all questions as to tithes should be subject to the decision of the bishops alone, and a great council at Augsburg, four years later, confirmed the grant.^t

The amount thus added to the revenues of the clergy must, after all possible deductions for difficulties of collection, for waste, or other allowances, have been very great; but the individual members of the body were not proportionally enriched. The number of the clergy was greatly increased; and, although the principle had been established that "benefice is given on account of office or duty,"^u it was satisfied by imposing on the superfluous clerks the duty of reading the church-service daily, and thus they became entitled to a maintenance.^x The bishops, as their state became greater, found themselves obliged to keep a host of expensive retainers. Knights or persons of higher rank who were attached to the households of the great prelates—often by way of disarming their hostility^y—were very highly paid for their services; the free men whom the bishops contributed towards the national force, or whom they hired to fight their feuds, were costly, and, as the prelates found themselves considered at the national musters in proportion to the number of their followers, they often, for the sake of supporting their dignity, led more than the re-

^p Planck, iii. 620-3.

^q C. 7. Hard. vi. §21 (A.D. 909).

^r Planck, iv. 629.

^s Planck, iii. 627-8.

^t Syn. August. A.D. 952, c. 10; Planck,

iii. 635.

^u "Beneficium datur propter officium."

^x Planck, iii. 639, 652.

^y Schmidt, ii. 496.

quired number with them.^z According to the system of the age, all these adherents were paid by fiefs, which were either provided out of the estates of the Church or by assigning them the titles of certain lands. Such fiefs in general became hereditary, and the bishops were thus consumed by the expense of establishments which it was impossible to get rid of.^a

The vidames or advocates in particular pressed heavily on the church. The wealth and privileges of the clergy continually excited the envy and cupidity of their lay neighbours, who were apt to pick quarrels with them in order that there might be a pretext for seizing their property. Every council has its complaints of such aggressions, and its anathemas against the aggressors. But the denunciations of councils, or even of popes, were of little or no avail; force alone could make any impression on the rough and lawless enemies of the clergy. The vidames, therefore, if they discharged their duty faithfully, had no easy task in defending the property of the churches or monasteries with which they were connected. But not only was the price of their assistance often greater than the damage which they averted; they are charged with neglecting their duty, with becoming oppressors instead of defenders, with treating the property of the church as if it were their own.^b The oppression of the advocates was especially felt by monastic bodies, who often found it expedient to pay largely to the sovereign for the privilege of being able to discharge these officers. The advocateship became hereditary; in some monasteries it was reserved by the founder to himself and his heirs, who thus, by the power of preying not only on the original endowment, but on such property as the community afterwards acquired, were in no small degree indemnified for the expense of the foundation. In some cases, the advocates appointed deputies, and thus the unfortunate clients had two tyrants under the name of defenders.^c Vast, therefore, as the revenues of the church appear, much of its wealth was merely nominal. A large part passed from the clergy to lay officials, and the rest was exposed to continual danger in such rude and unsettled times.^d

The condition of the Greek clergy is described by Lintprand as inferior to that of their Latin brethren. Their manner of life struck him as sordid. The bishops were obliged to pay tribute to the

^z Schmidt, ii. 192; Planck, iii. 656-606-612.

660.

^a Planck, loc. cit.; Gieseler, II. i. 248.

^b Abbo Floriac. can. 2, ap. Mabil. Analecta, ii. 255, 12mo.; Planck, iii.

^c Schmidt, ii. 189-190; Planck, iii.

661-2.

^d Planck, iii. 613.

emperor; the bishop of Leucate swore that his own tribute amounted to a hundred pieces of gold yearly; and Liutprand exclaims that this is a manifest injustice, inasmuch as Joseph, when he taxed all the rest of Egypt, exempted the land which belonged to the priests.^c

(4.) An important change took place in the canonical bodies, which, as we have seen, had originated towards the end of the preceding period. Although the canonical life was attractive as offering almost all the advantages of monasticism with an exemption from some of its drawbacks, the restraints and punctilious observances of Chrodegang's rule were felt as hard by many who had been accustomed to live in independence. The canons had taken a high position. From living with the bishop they were brought into a close connexion with him; their privileged body acquired something like that power which in the earliest ages had belonged to the general council of presbyters; and they claimed a share in the government of the diocese.^d The bishop, however, had at his disposal the whole revenues of the church, and although he might be obliged to set aside a certain portion for the maintenance of the canons, he had yet in his hands considerable means of annoying them. He could stint them in their allowances, he could increase their fasts, he could be niggardly in providing for occasions of festivity. Complaints of bishops against canons and of canons against bishops became frequent.^e

The first object of the canons was to get rid of the bishop's control over their property. The composition made between Gunther of Cologne and his canons, at a time when he had especial reason to court them, is the earliest instance of its kind. By this the canons got into their own hands the management of their property, and were even enabled to bequeath their houses or other effects to their brethren without any reference to the archbishop.^h The instrument was confirmed by a great council held at Cologne in 873 under archbishop Willibert, whose reasons for consenting to it are unknown; and the new arrangement was soon imitated elsewhere.ⁱ

After this first step, the canons in various places, and more or less rapidly, advanced further. They abandoned the custom of living together, and of eating at a common table. Each had a residence of his own within the precincts of the cathedral. They

^c Legatio, 63.

^d Schröckh, xxii. 498; Planck, iii. 642, 751-5.

^e Planck, iii. 756-7.

^h Hard, vi. 139. See p. 305.

ⁱ Hard, vi. 137-142; Planck, iii. 642-8; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 368; ii. 92-3.

divided the property of the body among themselves, but the more influential canons secured an unfair proportion of it; many of them also possessed private property.^k The canons purchased special privileges from kings and emperors, from bishops and from popes. The vacancies in each society were filled up by the choice of the members, and nobility of birth came to be regarded as a necessary qualification. Marriage and concubinage were usual among this class of clergy; and their ordinary style of living may be inferred from the statement of RATHERIUS, bishop of Verona, that the simplicity of his habits led his canons to suppose him a man of low origin, and on that account to despise him.^m At length the duties of the choir—the only duties which the canons had continued to acknowledge—were devolved on *prebendaries* engaged for the purpose, and the canons, both of cathedral and of collegiate churches, lived in the undisturbed enjoyment of their incomes.ⁿ

Thus by degrees the system which Chrodegang had instituted became extinct. The revivals of it which were attempted by Adalbero of Rheims,^o by Willigis of Mentz, and other prelates, were never of long continuance;^p and in a later time that which had been a violation of the proper canonical discipline became the rule for the foundation of cathedral chapters on a new footing.^q

(5.) The dissolute morals of the clergy are the subject of unceasing complaint. The evils which arose out of the condition of domestic chaplains increased, notwithstanding all the efforts of bishops and of councils to introduce a reform. The employers of these chaplains engaged them without any inquiry as to their morals, their learning, or even their ordination; they claimed for them the same exemption from episcopal jurisdiction which was allowed to the clergy of the royal chapel, and every employer considered it a point of honour to support his chaplain in any violation of canons or defiance of bishops.^r Thus it is related that Arnulph, bishop of Halberstadt, as he was leaving a church after

^k RATHERIUS in Neander, vi. 91; Schröckh, xxii. 499; Planck, iii. 764. Peter Damiani wrote two tracts against the abuses in the canonical life—Opusc. xxiv. "Contra clericos regulares proprietarios;" Opusc. xxvii. "De communi vita canonicorum." Opera, iii.

^m Rather. in Neander, vi. 91; Schröckh, xxii. 499.

ⁿ Schmidt, ii. 493; Planck, iii. 763.

^o Richer, iii. 24.

^p Mabillon, VII. p. viii.; Pagi, xvi. 33; Planck, iii. 765. Yet the Saxon annalist says that the canons of Hildesheim, down to the eleventh century, lived with the strictness of monks; they had daily to exhibit some tasks to the dean "ut timidi in claustris quam in scholis manum ferulæ subducere viderentur." Peritz, vi. 686.

^q Planck, iii. 766.

^r Planck, iii. 565-8, 575.

the performance of solemn mass on a festival, fell in with a count's chaplain, who was carrying a falcon on his hand. A.D. 1013.

Arnulph remonstrated with him on the unseenliness of such uncanonical amusements; but the count was so exasperated on hearing of what had passed, that he led his soldiers to attack the monastery in which the bishop lodged, with the intention of forcibly dragging him out.^a

The mischiefs connected with this class of clergy were in great measure chargeable on the practice of the bishops themselves in conferring orders without assigning a particular sphere of labour to the receiver. The origin of such ordinations has been already traced;^b but now even the higher orders of the ministry were thus bestowed, for the sake of the fees which had come to be paid.^c Canons were passed that no one should be allowed to officiate in a church without the bishop's license, and without producing a certificate of his ordination; while other canons forbade the appointment of chaplains without the bishop's consent.^d The council of Ravenna, under John VIII., in 877, enacted that every presbyter should at ordination be appointed to some particular church;^e but the custom of ordaining without such a title was already too firmly established.

Among the many abuses connected with the sale of spiritual preferments was the practice of patrons who insisted on presenting their nominees without allowing the bishop to inquire into their qualifications, or even into the validity of their ordination.^f In opposition to this the council of Seligenstadt, in 1022, ordered that no layman should present a clerk without submitting him to the bishop for examination.^g

But the chief subject of complaint and of ecclesiastical legislation is the neglect of celibacy and chastity by the clergy. The older canons, which forbade clergymen to entertain in their houses any women except their nearest relations, were found, instead of acting as an effective restraint, to tempt them to more frightful kinds of sin; and even the company of mothers, aunts, and sisters was now prohibited.^h Riculf, bishop of Soissons, ordains in 889, that, lest the sins of Abzalom and of Lot should be repeated, not even the nearest kinswomen of the clergy should dwell with them; if a clergyman should invite his mother, his sister, or his aunt to

^a Planck, iii. 566-8.

^b P. 186.

^c Planck, iii. 570-2.

^d Ib. 573-8.

^e C. 14.

^f Planck, iii. 779.

^g C. 13.

^h Cone. Namnet. (undated) c. 3; Hard. vi. 457; Gieseler, II. i. 321.

dinner, the women must return before nightfall to their own home or lodging, which must be at a distance from the parsonage.^c As experience seemed to point out more and more the expediency of relaxing the law of celibacy, councils became stricter in their requirements. Subdeacons were required at ordination to promise that they would never marry, or, if already married, they were required to renounce their wives;^d a council at Augsburg in 952 enacted that all manner of clerks of mature age should be compelled to observe continency, "even although unwilling."^e

The clergy, however, when forbidden to marry, indemnified themselves by living in concubinage—sometimes, as appears from a canon passed at Poitiers in 1000, resorting to strange expedients for the purpose of concealing their female companions;^f and they married in defiance of the prohibitions. From the bishops downwards, it was common both in Germany and in Italy for the clergy to have wives, and that without any disguise;^g and the same was the case in Normandy, as well as in the independent church of Brittany.^h In order to judge fairly of such persons we must not regard them from the position of either the modern opponents or advocates of clerical celibacy. Living and holding office as they did under a law which forbade marriage, we cannot respect them for their violation of that law. Yet if they believed the prohibition to be merely a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and not enforced by the Divine word,—if they saw that the inexpediency of such discipline was abundantly proved by experience,—and if they found that those who were charged with the maintenance of the canons were willing to tolerate a breach of them in this respect, provided that it were managed without indecency, we may suppose that the clergy in question were reasonably justified to their own consciences. We may hold them excusable, if we cannot admire them as heroic or enlightened.

The acts of Dunstan in England have been already related, and we have seen that his reformation, which for the time appeared to be triumphant, was not of any long continuance—at least in its full extent. Reformers in other quarters were less successful.

^c Constit. Riculfi, c. 14; Hard. vi. 322-3; Gföörer, iv. 155-6.

^d Conc. Bituric. A.D. 1031, c. 6.

^e C. 11. Pertz, Leges, ii. 28.

^f "Nullus presbyter neque diaconus feminam in sua domo teneat, neque in cellario, neque in secreto loco." C. 6.

^g Theiner, i. 479; Gieseler, II. i.

^h Michelet, ii. 399. St. Anselm long after writes to Urban II. that a bishop of Beauvais is persecuted for keeping the sons or chosen heirs of his canons from succeeding to their benefices. Ep. ii. 33, p. 354.

Among the most remarkable of these was Ratherius,ⁱ a native of Liege, who acquired great fame for learning, eloquence, and strictness of life, and in 931 was advanced to the see of Verona by Hugh the Great of Provence, in fulfilment of a promise which Hugh was disposed to evade, but which was enforced by the authority of the pope.^k Ratherius represents the Italian clergy in the darkest colours: they were, he says, so grossly ignorant that many of them did not know the Apostles' Creed, while some were anthropomorphites; and they were stained by all manner of vices.^l The bishops were altogether secular in their manners, and even in their dress—hunting, hawking, gaming, delighting in the company of jesters, minstrels, and dancing-girls. They were luxurious in their food and drink, covetous, utterly careless of their duties; they despised all who showed the fear of God; they took pride in splendid furniture and equipages, without any thought of Him who rode on an ass.ⁿ Unhappily Ratherius was wholly wanting in the prudence which would have been requisite for dealing with such persons; his intemperate zeal, his personal assumption, his passionate impatience of opposition, his abusive language and unmeasured severity in reproof alienated the clergy, laity, and monks, with whom he had at first been popular, while his independent spirit and his determination to maintain the rights of his see provoked the cruel and licentious king.^o Hugh, on A.D. 934. a charge of treason, imprisoned him at Pavia for two years and a half,^p while the bishoprick was given to Manasses, archbishop of Arles, who also held the sees of Trent and Mantua, and had the effrontery to justify his pluralities by alleging that St. Peter had been bishop of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch.^q In 939, Hugh for reasons of policy restored Ratherius; but he was again obliged to leave his see^r and his impracticable character provoked his expulsion or compelled his withdrawal from other preferments which he successively obtained—from Liege, to which he had been promoted by the influence of Bruno of Cologne;^s a third time from Verona, which he had recovered through the patronage of Otho the Great, by the ejection of a more popular

ⁱ Vita Ratherii (chiefly from his writings), in Mabillon, vii. 473 seqq.; Vogel, 'Ratherius von Verona und das zehnte Jahrhundert,' Jena, 1854.

^k Vogel, i. 52. Hugh consented, in the belief that Ratherius was dying, and was angry at his recovery.

^l Ib. 212, 292; Schnöckh, xxii. 508-

516; Gieseler, II. i. 264-7; Theiner, i. 509 seqq., 521.

ⁿ Vogel, i. 43-8.

^o Vogel, i. 54.

^p Hist. Litt. vi. 341.

^q Lindprand, Antap. iv. 6.

^r Vogel, i. 121-9.

^s Ib. 180-4, 192-4.

bishop† (A.D. 963); from the abbey of St. Amand, which he is said to have purchased of king Lothair; from the abbey of Haumont, and from that of Lobach or Lobbes, on the Sambre, the place of his education, which he had held with the bishoprick of Liege, and of which in his latter days he again became the head through the expulsion of his predecessor Folcuin.^u Ratherius died at Namur, in 974, at the age of 82.^x He was throughout a vehement opponent of marriage among the clergy; yet he seems at last to have been convinced that the attempt was hopeless, and to have contented himself with endeavouring to preserve the hierarchy from becoming hereditary, by desiring that the married priests should choose laymen as husbands for their daughters, and should not allow their sons to be clerks.^y

It was not on religious grounds only that the celibacy of the clergy was enforced; for the property of the church was endangered by the opposite practice. The married clergy often contrived to make their livings hereditary; or they alienated ecclesiastical property to their children, whom, in order to render such alienations secure, they placed under vassalage to some powerful layman.^z Clergymen of servile birth were careful to choose women of free condition for wives and concubines, so as to ensure for their offspring the privileges of freemen, by virtue of the legal principle that the child should follow the condition of the mother. Benedict VIII. at a council held at Pavia about 1012, inveighed with great severity against those who by such means impoverished the church.^a "Let the sons of clergy be null," he says; "and especially the sons of such clerks as belong to the family" (*i. e.* to the serfs) "of the church. Yea, let them—let them, I say—I say they shall—be null." They shall neither follow their mother in freedom nor their father in inheritance; they shall be serfs of the church for ever, whether born of wives or of concubines; they may in mercy be allowed to serve as Nethinims—hewers of wood and drawers of water—but must not aspire to any higher ministry.

^u Vogel, 253, 302, 306, 411-420.

^v *Ib.* 182, 426-7, 430-1; *Hist. Litt.* vi. 452; Schröckh, xxii. 513-522. It is Folcuin who gives the story as to the purchase of St. Amand. (*Gesta Abbat. Lobb. ap. Periz, iv.*) Mabillon thinks it a calumny, imposed on the abbot by some one who wished to flatter his dislike of Ratherius (vii. 479); but Vogel maintains its truth, while he contends that the transaction was not inconsistent with the abhorrence of simony which Ratherius professed (i. 427-8). After one of

his expulsions from Verona, the bishop became tutor to a young nobleman, for whose benefit he wrote a grammar with the title of "*Sparadortium*" (*Sparach. vi.*), so called because the pupil by learning it might escape chastisement. Vogel, i. 101.

^x Vogel, i. 434.

^y *Ib.* 347.

^z Victor, III. Dial. iii. (*Bibl. Patr.* xviii. 851 c); Planck, iii. 600; Theiner, i. 458-9; Gieseler, II. i. 326.

^a Hard, vi. 805 seqq.

Their mothers shall be driven out, and shall be compelled to leave behind them all that they have gotten from the church.^b The pope's address to the council is followed by canons which enact that no member of the clergy shall have a wife or a concubine; that the children of clerks shall be condemned to hopeless servitude; and that no judge shall, under pain of anathema, promise them freedom or the power of inheriting.

Some canons forbade, not only that any one should give his daughter in marriage to a clerk, but that any lay person should intermarry with the child of a clerk.^c There were also canons which forbade the ordination of the sons of clergymen, as being an "accursed seed;"^d but in this respect the humaner principle that the innocent should not suffer for the sins of their parents appears to have more generally prevailed.^e

Dearly as the benefit was bought, we must not overlook one great good which resulted from the enforcement of celibacy—that to this is chiefly to be ascribed the preservation of the clergy during the middle ages from becoming, like other classes whose dignity had at first been personal and official, a hereditary caste.^f

II. Monasticism.

During the earlier part of this period, the monastic life was on the decline. Some of the abuses which had arisen among the Greeks may be gathered from the canons of the synod which was held at Constantinople in 861, and which is known as the "First and Second."^g It is there stated that many persons professed to consecrate their substance by founding monasteries, yet contrived to make such foundations a source of profit; and that some assumed the monastic habit with the view of gaining a reputation for piety, but lived with the freedom of laymen. In order to guard

^b Hard. vi. 809-813.

^c Conc. Bitur. 1031, ec. 19-20.

^d Ib. c. 8.

^e Neander, vi. 92.

^f Luden, viii. 566-7; Palgrave, Hist. Anglo-Sax. 242; Ozanam, 90. There has been much controversy as to a letter in bold defence of clerical marriage, which is said to have been addressed by Ulric bishop of Augsburg to Nicolas I., and was first published by Flaccius Illyricus in his 'Catalog. Testium Veritatis.' The absurd story which it contains, that Gregory the Great found in his fishpond six thousand heads of priests' children, is given up by all reasonable persons as a fable. As the famous St. Ulric of

Augsburg lived long after Nicolas I., the defenders of the letter are reduced to suppose that it was either written by an earlier Ulric or addressed to a later Nicolas. Gieseler thinks that Nicolas II. is meant, and that the letter is a forgery of the time of Hildebrand, executed in the interest of the opposite party (H. i. 329. Comp. Bayle, art. *Grégoire I.*, n. Q.; Schröckh, xxii. 550-5; Theiner, i. 467-470; Maitland on Fox's Acts and Monuments, Brit. Mag. xiii. 254). The letter was condemned by Gregory VII. in his synod of 1079. (Bernold, ap. Pertz, v. 436.) It is in the Cod. Udalerici No. x. See Eccard's Preface.

^g See p. 331.

against these evils, it is enacted that no monastery shall be built without leave of the bishop in whose diocese it is situated, and that no one shall be admitted to the monastic profession until after a noviciate of three years. Another canon orders that bishops shall not dilapidate the property of their sees for the purpose of founding monasteries.^h

In the west, the reform undertaken by Louis the Pious soon passed away. The practice of appropriating the revenues of abbeys increased. Abbacies were granted by French kings to laymen as hereditary possessions; some of them were even assigned to queens or other ladies.ⁱ Kings took the revenues of abbeys into their own hands, and bishops were not slow to imitate the example; thus Hatto of Mentz, who died in 912, annexed to his archiepiscopal dignity the abbacies of twelve monasteries, and some abbacies were fixedly attached to certain sees.^k The want of due superintendence which arose from this practice combined with other causes to produce a great decay of monastic discipline. Such was this decay in France that the monks are said to have been generally unacquainted with the rule of St. Benedict, and even ignorant whether they were bound by any rule whatever.^l In many monasteries the abbots openly lived with wives or concubines.^m

The council of Trosley, in 909, laments the general corruption. Some monasteries, it is said, have been burnt or destroyed by pagans, some have been plundered of their property, and those of which the traces remain observe no form of a regular institute. They have no proper heads; the manner of life is disorderly; some monks desert their profession and employ themselves in worldly business; as the fine gold becomes dim without the workman's care, so the monastic institution goes to ruin for want of regular abbots. Lay abbots, with their wives and children, with their soldiers and their dogs, occupy the cloisters of monks, of canons, and of nuns; they take it on themselves to give directions as to a mode of life with which they are altogether unacquainted, and the inmates of monasteries cast off all regard for rule as to dress and diet. It is the predicted sign, the abomination of desolation standing in the place where it ought not.ⁿ

^h C. 1, 2, 5, 7.

ⁱ Gieseler, II. i. 294.

^k Thomassin, II. iii. 3. 37; Planck, iii. 725. An instance of the bad effects of such annexation in the case of St. Emmeran's at Ratisbon may be found in

the Life of St. Wolfgang, who reformed the abuse. C. 15. Pertz, iv. 522.

^l Schröckh, xxiii. 25; Planck, iii. 696.

^m Theiner, i. 526-7; Gieseler, II. i. 296.

ⁿ Cap. 3. Hard. vi. 510-3.

Soon after this a reformation was set on foot in various quarters. The lead was taken by Berno, abbot of Beaune, and founder and abbot of Cigni.^p He had already established a reform in these two societies, when in 912¹ he was invited to Cluny by William, duke of Auvergne or Upper Aquitaine, who desired him to choose a spot within the dukedom for the foundation of a monastery;² and Berno made choice of Cluny itself. A society of canons had been founded there in the preceding century,³ but the buildings were occupied by the duke's hunting establishment. In his "testament," or charter, William declares that he gives the estate for the foundation of a monastery in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul; first for the love of God, then for the souls of the late king Odo, of his own wife, kindred and friends, for the good of the Catholic faith, and of all orthodox Christians in time past, present, or to come. Berno is to be the first abbot, and after his death the monks are to enjoy the uncontrolled election of their superior. They are to be exempt from all interference of the founder and his family, of the king's majesty, and of every other earthly power. The duke solemnly charges all popes, bishops, and secular princes to respect their property; he prays the two apostles and the pope to take the monastery under their special protection, and imprecates curses on any one who shall invade it.⁴

Berno, like St. Benedict, began with a company of twelve monks.⁵ The institutions of Cluny excited emulation, and other monasteries were committed to the abbot for reform. In 927, Berno was succeeded by his disciple Odo, whose fame so much eclipsed that of his master that even some members of the Cluniac order have spoken of Odo as their founder.⁶ To the rule of St. Benedict Odo added many minute observances. Thus the monks were required at the end of meals to gather up and to swallow all the crumbs of their bread. There was a disposition to evade this regulation; but when a dying monk exclaimed in horror that the devil was holding up in accusation against him a bag of crumbs which he had been unwilling to swallow, the brethren were terrified into obedience.⁷ Periods of strict silence were enforced; and stories are told of the inconveniences to which the Cluniacs submitted rather than break

^p Baron. 912-18; Mabill. vii. 70. Berno was probably a Count, but this is not certain. Mab. 66.

¹ Pagi, xv. 575.

² Vita Bernon. Mabill. vii. 70.

³ See Mabill. 74-5.

⁴ Hard. vi. 517 seqq. The confirma-

tion by Pope Agapetus, *ibid.* 601. See also Alex. II. Ep. 43, ad Hugon. Abbat. Clun., *ib.* vi. 1109.

⁵ Radulph. Glab. iii. 5.

⁶ See Baron. 912-17; Pagi, xv. 576; Mabill. vii. 127.

⁷ Vita S. Odonis. Mabill. vii. 159.

this rule—as that one allowed his horse to be stolen, and that two suffered themselves to be carried off prisoners by the Northmen. For their communications among themselves at such times a code of signals was established, which the novices were obliged to learn.^a The monks were bled five times a year, and it is doubtful whether Odo permitted the use of any medical treatment except this periodical bleeding and the application of cautery. When two of his monks entreated him to allow them some medicine, he consented, but told them in anger that they would never recover; and the result justified his foresight, if not his humanity.^b

The fame of Cluny spread. Odo, at the request of popes, thrice visited Italy for the purpose of reconciling princes, and he introduced his reforms in that country.^b Under his successor, Aymard, no fewer than 278 charters, either bestowing or confirm-^{A.D. 942-}ing gifts, attest the wealth which was attracted to the ^{965.} monastery by the spectacle which it exhibited of revived austerity.^c A series of conspicuous saints maintained and advanced the renown of the Cluniacs. Majolus, or Mayeul, who was coadjutor to Aymard from 948 and became sole abbot in 965, had before joining the congregation refused the archbishoprick of Besançon,^d and on the death of Benedict VI., in 974, he declined the popedom.^e The fifth abbot, Odilo, was equal to any of his predecessors ^{A.D. 994-}in reputation and in influence. Popes treated him as an ^{1049.} equal; kings and emperors sought his friendship and were guided by his advice; bishops repaired to Cluny, to place themselves as monks under his government.^f His contemporary Fulbert of Chartres styles him “the archangel of the monks;”^g another contemporary, the notorious Adalbero of Laon, in a satirical poem calls him “*King Odilo of Cluny*.”^h He was believed to have the power of miracles, and an extraordinary efficacy was ascribed to his prayers. Benedict VIII., it is said, appeared to John bishop of Porto, telling him that he was suffering torments, but that he could be delivered by the prayers of Odilo. The abbot engaged in the charitable work, and after a time the release of the pope

^a Mabill. vii. 129; Vita, ib. 167.

^b Nalgold. ap. Mabill. vii. 196. St. Gualbert excommunicated a monk who had died through neglecting to take care of himself after receiving medicine from him. Atto, c. 43. ap. Mabill. ix. 285.

^c Hist. Litt. vi. 232-3.

^d Mabill. vii. 316.

^e Vita S. Majol. Mabill. vii. 745,

^f Ib. 757.

^g Jotsald. Vita S. Odilon. i. 8, ap. Mabill. viii. 600; Schröckh, xxiii. 37.

^h Fulb. ap. Bouquet, x. 456.

ⁱ A monk is represented as saying “Rex est namque meus Rex Odilo Cluniacensis.” Adalb. Carm. ad Robert. regem. 115. Bouquet, x. 67. Comp. the notes, pp. 81-2.

was shown in a vision to one of the monks of Cluny.ⁱ In days when the popes were far from saintly, the people looked away from them to the great head of the monastic society, whose position was such that he refused to exchange it for archbishopricks, or even for St. Peter's chair.^k

The reform begun at Cluny extended far and wide. When a revival of the true monastic asceticism had been displayed in any province, a regard for public opinion and for self-preservation urged the imitation of it on the other communities of the neighbourhood.^m A general zeal for monachism sprang up; multitudes of men became monks, many offered their children, some even devoted themselves and their posterity as serfs to a monastery, in the hope of a reward in heaven.ⁿ Princes or bishops often employed the Cluniacs in carrying out a forcible reformation; many monasteries of their own accord conformed to the Cluniac rule, and placed themselves in connexion with the mother society.^o The degree of this connexion was various; in some cases the affiliated monastery was in strict subjection, so that it not only looked to Cluny for its abbots and priors, but did not even receive a novice without reference to the "arch-abbot;" in other cases, the lesser monastery enjoyed independence in the administration of its concerns and in the choice of its superiors, while it acknowledged the great abbot as its chief, and regarded him as invested with a supreme authority and authorised to watch over its discipline.^p Thus was formed the "Congregation of Cluny," the first example in the west of an organisation which had been introduced into Egypt by Pachomius in the earliest age of monasticism.^q The work of establishing this organisation was accomplished by the sixth abbot, Hugh, who succeeded Odilo at the age of twenty-five in 1049, and governed the society for sixty years.^r The number of monasteries connected with Cluny, in France, in Germany, in Italy, in England, and in Spain, amounted by the end of the twelfth century to two thousand.^s

ⁱ Jotsald, ii. 14; P. Damiani. ap. Baron. 1024-1.

^k Schröckh, xxiii. 36. Odilo refused Lyons, and was blamed on that account by John XVIII. (Hard. vi. 828; Radulph. Glaber. v. 4, and notes in Bouq. x. 61.) Peter Damiani, in his Life of Odilo, states that he was mild in imposing penances, and that, when blamed for this, he used to say—"If I am to be damned, I would rather that it should be for inercy than for harshness or cruelty." Opera, ii. 180.

^m Planck, iii. 702.

ⁿ Planck, iii. 707-8; Gieseler, II. i. 302.

^o Planck, iii. 713-5.

^p Mabill. VII. xxvii.; Planck, iii. 714-5.

^q See vol. i. p. 295; Mabill. VII. xxv.

^r Mabill. VII. xxii.-xxvii.; Hist. Litt. ix. 466. There is a life of Hugh in Hildebert's works, pp. 909-914, ed. Beaugendre, Paris, 1706.

^s Schröckh, xxiii. 40; Planck, iii.

Another famous society was founded by Romuald, a nobleman descended from the ducal family of Ravenna. His early life was dissolute, but at the age of twenty he was suddenly reclaimed from it. His father, Sergius, had been engaged in a dispute as to some property with a kinsman. The two met, each at the head of his partisans, and Sergius slew his opponent. Romuald, who had been concerned in the fray, although he had not himself shed blood, was so much shocked by the result, that he entered the monastery of St. Apollinaris with the intention of doing penance for forty days, and while there, he was determined, by visions in which the patron saint of the house appeared to him, to embrace the monastic life.¹ After spending three years in the monastery, he placed himself under the tuition of a hermit named Marinus, who was in the habit of daily reciting the whole psalter, saying thirty psalms under one tree and forty under another. Romuald was required to respond in these exercises, and whenever he failed (as often happened from his slowness in reading), he received a blow from the hermit's staff. By the frequent repetition of this, he lost the hearing of his left ear, whereupon he begged that the chastisement might be transferred to the right.² Although he used afterwards to relate the story of his training as a matter of amusement,³ his own piety savoured too much of his eccentric master's zeal. When living on the borders of Spain as a hermit, he heard that his father, who had withdrawn into a monastery, was inclined to return to the world, and he resolved to prevent such a step. The people of the neighbourhood, on learning that he was about to leave them, were unwilling to lose so holy a man, and laid a plan for murdering him, in order that they might possess his relics. He escaped by feigning madness, made his way barefoot to Ravenna, assailed his father with reproaches and blows, fastened his feet in stocks, and loaded him with chains until the old man was brought to a better sense of the monastic duty of perseverance.⁴ Throughout his life Romuald was involved in a succession of troubles with monks in various places on whom he attempted to force a reform with too great violence and rigour. He was once silent for seven years.⁵ Stirred to emulation by the labours of his friend Bruno or Boniface, who had been martyred

711-2. The Cluniac houses in England were all under the government of Frenchmen. The abbot of Cluny drew 2000*l.* yearly from them. *Monast. Angl.* V. iii.-iv.

¹ Pet. Damiani, *Vita S. Romualdi*,

cc. 3-5. In Mabill. viii. or Opera, ii. 188, seqq.

² *Ib.* 8.

³ "Hilariter."

⁴ *Ib.* 19-21.

⁵ *Ib.* 79.

by the heathens of Prussia, he undertook a mission to Hungary; he fell ill, and thought of returning, whereupon he suddenly recovered; but as often as he resumed his intention of proceeding, his sickness again attacked him. At length he yielded to what he supposed to be a providential intimation that the work was not for him; but fifteen of his companions went on, and laboured in Hungary with good effect.^a

Romuald's great work was the foundation of Camaldoli among the Apennines in the year 1018.^b He began by building five cells and an oratory. The inmates were to live as hermits, and were not to associate together except for worship. Their duties as to devotion, silence, and diet were very rigid; but Romuald, although he often passed days in entire abstinence, would not allow his disciples to attempt a like austerity; they must, he said, eat every day, and always be hungry. A vision of angels ascending Jacob's ladder induced him to prescribe a white dress, whereas that of the Benedictines was black.^c Romuald died in 1027, at the age of a hundred and twenty.^d Rudolph, who was "general" of the Camaldolese from 1082, mitigated the severity of the rule, and added to the hermits an institution of Cœnobites, whose habits gradually became very different from those of the original foundation. These monks became an order, with monasteries affiliated to Camaldoli, but it did not spread to any great extent.^e

Another monastic reformer was John Gualbert, a Florentine of noble birth. Having been charged by his father to avenge the death of a kinsman, he met the murderer in a narrow pass on Good Friday, and was about to execute his vengeance;^f but when the guilty man threw himself from his horse, and placed his arms in the form of a cross, as if expecting certain death, Gualbert was moved to spare him in reverence for the holy sign and for the solemn day.^g On halting to pay his devotions in the monastic church of St. Minias near Florence, he saw, while engaged in prayer, a crucifix incline its head towards him, as if in acknowledgment of the mercy which he had shown, and he resolved to become a monk.^h His father, on hearing of this,

^a Vita, 63-4.

^b Mabillon says it was not before 1023. IX. xxxiii.

^c Schröckh, xxiii. 43-7. On monastic dress, see Mabillon, VII. xxx. seqq.

^d P. Damiani, 101; Pagi, xvi. 363. It is conjectured that by Aqua Bella, in c. 72, P. Damiani means Camaldoli; but, with the exception of this slight and

doubtful mention, the biographer says nothing of Romuald's most remarkable deed. See Mabillon's Preface, and note on the passage.

^e Schröckh, xxiii. 48-9.

^f Atto (general of Vallombrosa, who died in 1153), Vita S. Gual. c. 2. Mabillon, ix.

^g Ib. 3.

rushed to St. Minias, assailed Gualbert with reproaches, and threatened to do mischief to the monastery; but Gualbert persevered in his resolution, and distinguished himself so much by his asceticism that ten years later his brethren wished to elect him abbot.^h But he declined the dignity, and, after a sojourn at Camaldoli, fixed himself at Vallombrosa, where he founded a society of hermits.ⁱ (A.D. 1039.) Cœnobites were afterwards added, and a novelty in monastic life was introduced by the institution of *lay-brethren*, whose business it was to practise handicrafts and to manage the secular affairs of the community, while by their labours the monks were enabled to devote themselves wholly to spiritual concerns.^k The rigour of his system was extreme; novices were obliged to undergo a year of severe probation, during which they were subjected to degrading employments, such as the keeping of swine, and daily cleaning out the pigsty with their bare hands;^l and Gualbert carried his hatred of luxury so far as to condemn the splendour of monastic buildings.^m He deviated from the Benedictine rule by attiring his monks in gray, but the colour was afterwards changed to brown, and eventually to black. He built and reformed many monasteries,ⁿ and in obedience to pope Alexander II. reluctantly became head of the order which he had founded. His death took place in 1093.^p

In Germany the attempts at monastic reform met with much stubborn resistance. The monks often rose in rebellion against their reforming abbots, beat them, blinded them, or even attempted their lives.^q The general feeling of his class is expressed by the annalist Widukind of Corbey, who gravely tells us that a "grievous persecution" of the monks arose about the year 945, in consequence of some bishops having said that they would rather have a cloister occupied by a few inmates of saintly life than by many careless ones—a saying which Widukind meets by citing the parable of the tares.^r Yet in Germany some improvement was at length effected. Among the agents of this improvement William of Hirschpau is especially eminent. He raised the number of his monks from fifteen to a hundred and fifty, founded some new monasteries, reformed more than a hundred, and in 1069 formed the monks into a congregation after the pattern of Cluny, adopt-

^h Atto, 5-9.ⁱ Ib. 12; Mabill. IX. 274.^k Mabill. IX. xl.^l Theiner, ii. 82.^m Atto, 40.ⁿ Ib. 23-4, 33.^p Ib. 73; Schröckh, xxiii. 51.^q See instances in Planck, iii. 702-4; Theiner, i. 527; Gieseler, II. i. 299.^r Widuk. ii. 37; Pertz, iii. 448.

ing the system of lay brethren from Vallombrosa.³ The virtues of William were not limited to devotion, purity of life, and rigour of discipline; he is celebrated for his gentleness to all men, for his charity to the poor, for the largeness of his hospitality, for his cheerful and kindly behaviour, for his encouragement of arts and learning. He provided carefully for the transcription of the Bible and of other useful books, and, instead of locking them up in the library of his abbey, endeavoured to circulate them by presenting copies to members of other religious houses. The sciences included in the Quadrivium, especially music and mathematics, were sedulously cultivated at Hirschau, and under William the monks were distinguished for their skill in all that relates to the ornament of churches—in building, in sculpture, in painting, in carving of wood, and in working in metals.⁴

In the course of these reforms, the lay impropriations were very generally got rid of. Many of the holders spontaneously resigned their claims; others were constrained by princes to do so, and new grants of like kind were sparingly made.⁵ The practice, however, was not extinct, and monasteries, like other ecclesiastical bodies, suffered grievously from the exactions of the advocates whose duty it was to protect them.⁶ Kings often interfered in their affairs, and the privileges of free election which monastic bodies had received, or even purchased, from bishops, from princes, and from popes, were found in practice to be utterly unavailing against a royal nomination of an abbot.⁷

The change of dynasty in France had a very favourable effect for monasteries. Hugh Capet, before his elevation to the throne, had held the abbacies of St. Denys and St. Germain, and was styled *abbot-count*.⁸ But, from a wish, probably, to secure to himself the interest of the monks, he resigned his abbacies, restored to the monastic communities the power of choosing their superiors, and on his deathbed charged his son Robert to refrain from alienating monastic property, and from interfering with the right of free election.⁹

The power of bishops over monasteries was diminished during this period. Any impression which the decay of monastic disci-

³ Heymo, Vita S. Willh. Hirschau. 22-190.

⁴ ap. Mabill. ix. Mabill. ib. 717-9.

⁵ Bernold, A.D. 1091 (the year of the abbot's death) ap. Pertz, v.; Voigt's Hildbrand, 140; Maitland's Dark Ages, 327-332.

⁶ Planck, iii. 706; Gfrörer, iv. 189-190.

⁷ Schrockh, xxiii. 99-101.

⁸ Planck, iii. 721-2.

⁹ Abbacomes.

¹⁰ Helgald. Vit. Roberti, c. 14; Bouquet, x. 104; Mabillon, VII. lxxi; VIII. ii.

pline might have made on the popular mind in favour of episcopal superintendence was neutralised by the sight of the disorders which prevailed among the bishops themselves, and by the fact that many of them, by impropriating the revenues of abbeys, contributed largely to the evils in question.^b And when the monks had been restored to reputation and influence by the reforms of the tenth century, they began to set up claims against the episcopal authority. Abbo of Fleury led the way by refusing to make the customary profession of obedience to his diocesan, the bishop of Orleans.^c A spirit of strong hostility arose between the two classes, and was signally displayed when a council at St. Denys, in 997, proposed to take away, for the support of the parochial clergy, the tithes which were held by monastic bodies, as well as those which were in the hands of laymen. The monks of St. Denys and the populace rose in tumult, and dispersed the assembled prelates; the president of the council, Siguin archbishop of Sens, as he fled was struck between the shoulders with an axe, was pelted with filth, and almost killed. Abbo, as the leader of the monastic opposition, was charged with having instigated the rioters; he vindicated himself in a letter addressed to King Hugh and his son; but the relish with which his biographer relates the flight of the bishops proves that the monastic party were not unwilling to see their opponents discomfited by such means.^d Abbo went to Rome for the assertion of the monastic privileges, and afterwards, when sent on a mission as to the question of the archbishopric of Rheims, he obtained from Gregory V. a grant that the bishop should not visit the monastery of Fleury except by invitation from the abbot.^e

Monastic communities were naturally disposed to connect themselves immediately with the papal see—since the pope was the only power to which they could appeal against bishops and princes. Some of them, as that of Cluny, were placed by their founders under the special protection of the pope, and a small acknowledgment was paid to Rome in token of such connexion.^f Yet the exemption which monasteries thus obtained from the control of their diocesan bishops was not as yet intended to debar the bishop from exercising his ordinary right of moral oversight, but to secure the monks against abuses of the episcopal power—against invasion of their property, interference in the choice of abbots, unfair exactions, or needless and costly visitations.^g And such papal grants as

^b Planck, iii. 724-5.

Mabill. viii. 39; Hard. vi. 755.

^c Mabillon, VIII. vii.; Planck, iii.^e Aimoin, 12.

70-1.

^f Planck, iii. 731-8.^d See Aimoin, Vit. S. Abbonis, c. 9;^g Thomassin, I. iii. 37; Planck, iii.

affected to confer privileges of greater extent were set aside. Sylvester II. acknowledged, in a question as to a monastery at Perugia, that a monastic body could not transfer itself to the pope's immediate jurisdiction without the consent of the diocesan.^h Gregory V. failed in an attempt to exempt Hirschau from the authority of the bishop of Constance; and when a later pope, John XVIII., granted the abbot of Hirschau a license to say mass in the episcopal habit (for this was one of the forms in which the assumption of abbots displayed itself), the bishop complained to

A.D. 1033. Conrad the Salic. Pressed at once by the emperor and

by the bishop, the abbot was obliged to give up to his diocesan the episcopal staff and sandals which he had received from the pope, and these insignia were publicly burnt at the next diocesan synod.ⁱ In 1025, at the synod of Anse (near Lyons) a complaint was made by the bishop of Mâcon, within whose diocese Cluny was situated, that the archbishop of Vienne had officiated at consecrations and ordinations in the abbey. The abbot, Odilo, produced a privilege from the pope, authorising the brotherhood to invite any bishop whom they might choose for the performance of such offices; but the council declared that no privilege could be valid against the ancient canons which invested bishops with jurisdiction over the monasteries within their dioceses.^k At a later time, however, Alexander II. renewed the grant, allowing the Cluniacs to call in any other bishop than their diocesan, and ordering that no bishop should lay them under interdict or excommunication.^m Although the time was not yet ripe for the full display of monastic independence, the course of things was rapidly tending in that direction.

The continued popularity of monachism is shown, among other instances, by the means which secular persons took to connect themselves with it. It became usual to seek enrolment as *confraters* of a monastery, and by this the confrater was entitled to expect spiritual benefits from the prayers of the society. Conrad I. was a confrater of St. Gall, and Henry II. of Cluny.ⁿ Another practice, which has been traced by some as high as the seventh

736; Gieseler, II. i. 303. The proofs of a monastery being subject to a bishop were—(1) Obedience; (2) *Synods*, the payment of yearly dues; (3) *Procurements*, the right of being entertained; (4) *Solemn processions*, the right of celebrating mass and of holding meetings within the monastery. The ordination of monks, the benediction of abbots, the

giving of chrism, the consecration of churches and altars, were distinct rights, independent of the question of subjection. Mabillon, IX. xii.

^h Planck, iii. 741.

ⁱ Mabill. VIII. xii.-xiii.; Gieseler, II. i. 305.

^k Hard. vi. 840.

^m Gieseler, II. i. 306. ⁿ Ib., II. i. 306.

century, was that of putting on the monastic habit in dangerous sickness—a new form, apparently, of the obligation to penance which had been more anciently undertaken in such circumstances. If one who had taken the habit, on recovering, returned to secular life, his act was disapproved,^o and Peter Damiani wrote a treatise against such relapse; but it was sometimes found that even the monastic habit, where it was retained, was no security against a return to the old manner of life.^p

In the eleventh century, then, monasticism was again in the fullness of its influence. The scandals of its past decay were more than retrieved by the frequent and widely extended reformations which had taken place—each of them displaying in freshness and fervour a zeal and a rigour which for the time captivated the minds of men, and forbade them to admit the thought that that which was now so pure might in time also decline like the older monastic bodies.

III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The ninth century saw the rise of a class of Ritualists, who wrote commentaries on the services of the church. The first of them was Amalarius, a deacon of Metz (already mentioned in the history of the predestinarian controversy),^q who about 820 composed a treatise “On Divine Offices,” in which he applied to these the system of mystical interpretation which had long been exercised on Holy Scripture.^r All the incidents of Divine service, every attitude and gesture, the dresses of the clergy, the ornaments of the church, the sacred seasons and festivals, were expounded as pregnant with symbolical meanings. Raban Maur, and Walafriid Strabo,^s abbot of Reichenau, followed in the same century. Agobard had taken a different line. Being offended by the mass of irrelevant matter in the service-books of his church, he ejected from them all hymns but such as were taken from Scripture. For this he was censured by Amalarius in a book “On the Order of the Antiphonary;” and he replied in tracts which, with much display of indignation against his opponent, maintain the principle on which his liturgical reforms had been executed.^t The archbishop declares the pieces which he had expunged to be

^o Mabillon, VI. xcix.-cii.; IX. xliii.; Schröckh, xxiii. 94. Those who thus took the habit were in Spain styled *confessors*.

^p Neander, vii. 326.

^q P. 293.

^r “De Divinis Officiis,” Bibl. Patr. xiv.

^s *i. e.* The Squinter.

^t “De Divina Psalmodia,”—“De Correctione Antiphonarii.” Agob. Opera, ii.

"not only unfit and superfluous, but even profane and heretical;" he denounces the practice of devoting excessive attention to music, to the neglect of the study of Scripture—a practice, he says, which puffs up clerks who know nothing but music with a conceit of their accomplishments;" and, when Amalarius published his work "On Divine Offices," Agobard not only reprobated the idle character of his comments, but charged him with errors in doctrine.^x At a later time, Florus, master of the cathedral school at Lyons, who had been opposed to Amalarius in the case of Gottschalek,^y assailed him with much asperity for his ritual system, and cited him before two councils, the second of which, on finding that his mystical theories rested on no better foundation than his own fancy, pronounced them to be dangerous.^z But the style of exposition which Amalarius introduced was followed by the ritualists of the middle ages; it has been kept up in the Roman church; and an attempt (which, however, can hardly be regarded as serious) has even been made to revive it in the English church of our own day.

(2.) In the ninth century were formed some collections of Lives of Saints, which bore the title of Martyrologies. Among the compilers of these were Florus, Ado, archbishop of Vienna,^a Usuard, a monk of St. Germain's, at Paris,^b and Notker, of St. Gall.^c Biographies of individual saints were produced in vast numbers. Older lives were re-written; new legends were composed, as substitutes for the more authentic records which had perished in the ravages of the Northmen; many narratives, with the holy men who were the subjects of them, sprang from the invention of the monks. Not only was there much likeness of detail between stories of this kind, but even the whole accounts of some saints were identical, in everything except the names.^d Few men in those days shared the scruples of Letald, a monk of Mici, who in the preface to a biography blames those who attempted by falsehoods to enhance the glory of the saints, and says that, if the saints themselves had been followers of lies, they could never have reached their perfection of holiness.^e

^x De Corr. Ant. 18.

^y "Adv. Amalarium," Opera, ii. 101, seqq.

^z P. 296.

^a Hist. Litt. iv. 215.

^b Hist. Litt. v. 465.

^c Ib. 497.

^d Schröckh, xxiii. 214-221. This Notker (*Balbus*) must be distin-

guished from another (*Luben*), who lived in the eleventh century, and is famous for a vernacular paraphrase of the Psalms. Ib. 265.

^e Gieseler, II. i. 313.

^f A.D. 980; ib. 312. See, however, for other instances, Digby, *Mores Catholici*, x. 517-9.

From the time when St. Dionysius, the martyr of Paris, was identified with the Areopagite,^f other churches endeavoured to invest their founders with a like venerable character. Among them was the church of Limoges, which, as its first bishop, Martial, had been reckoned by Gregory of Tours with the companions of Dionysius in the third century,^g now referred him, as well as the founder of the see of Paris, to the apostolic age. At a council held at Limoges in 1023, a question arose as to the proper designation of the saint: the bishop, Jordan, was for styling him *confessor*, but Hugh, abbot of St. Martial's, insisted that his patron was entitled to be called *apostle*, as having been one of the seventy disciples. The matter was taken up by councils at Poitiers and at Paris; any one who should refuse the title of apostle to St. Martial was branded as being like the Ebionites, who, out of enmity against St. Paul, limited the number of apostles to the original twelve; and John XIX., on being appealed to, declared that it would be insanity to question the saint's right to a name which was given not only to the companions of the first apostles, but to St. Gregory for the conversion of England, and to others for their eminent labours as missionaries.^h The apostolic dignity of Martial, which raised him above martyrs, to whom as a confessor he would have been inferior, was confirmed by councils at Bourges and at Limoges in 1031, and Jordan acquiesced in the decision.ⁱ

The number of saints had increased by degrees. Charlemagne, as we have seen, found it necessary to forbid the reception of any but such as were duly accredited;^k but the multiplication went on, the bishops being the authorities by whom the title of sanctity was conferred.^m In the end of the tenth century, a new practice was introduced. At a Roman council, held in 993, Ludolph, bishop of Augsburg, presented a memoir of Ulric, one of his predecessors who had died twenty years before, and referred it to the judgment of the assembled fathers, as being guided by the Holy Spirit. The holiness of Ulric was attested by stories of miracles, wrought both in his lifetime and after death; and the pope, John XV., with the council, ordered that his memory should be venerated as that of a saint in words which, while they refer

^f See vol. i. 143; vol. ii. 293.

^g Greg. Taron. i. 18.

^h Hard. vi. 837-8; Pagi. xv. 590; Mosheim, ii. 386; Schröckh, xxiii.; Gieseler, II. i. 315.

ⁱ Hard. vi. 852, seqq. It is worth noticing that Alban Butler, in his ac-

count of St. Martial (June 30), says nothing of all these proceedings, but contents himself with the account given by Gregory of Tours, which places the saint in the third century.

^k P. 220.

^m Mosheim, ii. 294-5.

all holiness and religious honour to the Saviour, yet contain the dangerous error of interposing his saints as mediators between Him and mankind.ⁿ

This was the first instance in which *canonization* (*i. e.* the insertion of a name in the *canon* or list of saints)^o was conferred by the decree of a pope. The effect of such a decree was to entitle the saint to reverence throughout the whole of Western Christendom, whereas the honour bestowed by bishops or provincial councils was only local.^p But the pope did not as yet claim an exclusive right; metropolitans continued to canonize, sometimes with the sanction of popes, sometimes by their own sole authority, until Alexander III., in 1153, declared canonization to be one of those "greater causes" which belong to the Roman see alone.^q Yet in whatever hands the formal sanction might be lodged, the character of saintship was mainly conferred by the people. When a man of reputed holiness died, miracles began to be wrought, an altar was built over the grave, and an enthusiasm was speedily raised which easily made out a case for canonization. Bishops and popes felt the expediency of complying with the popular feeling, and the catalogue of saints was continually swelled by fresh additions.^r

Stories of miracles done by the saints abounded, and they show how the belief in such interpositions, as probable in every variety of occasions and circumstances, was likely to place these lower mediators in the way of the Author of all miracles. The oppressiveness of too frequent miracles, and the bad effects which the possession of wonder-working relics produced on monks, were felt by many abbots, and some of them, like Hildulph^s in an earlier time, took means to deliver their monasteries from such dangerous privileges.^t

(3.) The honours paid to the Blessed Virgin were continually growing to a greater height. The most extravagant language was used respecting her, and was addressed to her. Peter Damiani speaks of her as "deified,"^u as "exalted to the throne of God the Father, and placed in the seat of the very Trinity;"^x "To thee," he says, "is given all power in heaven and in earth; nothing is impossible to thee, to whom it is possible even to raise again the desperate to the hope of bliss. For thou approachest the golden altar of man's reconciliation, not only asking but com-

ⁿ Hard. vi. 727. A Life of Ulric is in Mabillon, vii. and in Pertz, iv.

^o The word was not used until the twelfth century, Mabillon, VII. xlv.

^p Mabillon, vii. 416.

^q Mabillon, VII. xiv. liii.-liv.; Gies-

eler, II. i. 308.

^r Schröckh, xxiii. 141.

^s See p. 218.

^t See instances in Gieseler, II. i. 310.

^u Serm. 44, p. 100, col. 2, e.

^x Serm. 40, p. 91, col. 1, e.

manding as a mistress, not as a handmaid."^y He revels in the mystical language of the Canticles, which he interprets as the nuptial song^z of the Almighty Father and the mother of the Saviour's humanity. Offices of prayer were now framed for her; the Angelic Salutation became an ordinary part of devotion;^a traces are found of what was afterwards styled the *Rosary*—the repetition of a certain number of prayers (as the Paternoster fifteen times, and the Salutation a hundred and fifty times) in her honour.^b Saturday was regarded as especially consecrated to the Virgin.^c New titles were invented for her: Odilo of Cluny styled her "Mother of Mercy;" the newly converted Hungarians were taught by a Venetian, on whom King Stephen had bestowed a bishoprick, to call her "lady" or "mistress," and they were placed under her special protection as "the family of St. Mary."^d

(4.) The festival of All Saints, which had been instituted at Rome in the eighth century,^e and had been already known in England, was extended to France, Germany, and Spain, by Gregory IV.^f In the end of the tenth century a new celebration was annexed to it. A French pilgrim, it is said, in returning from Jerusalem, was cast on a little island of the Mediterranean, where he met with a hermit who told him that the souls of sinners were tormented in the volcanic fires of the island, and that he could often hear the devils howling with rage because their prey was rescued from them by the prayers and alms of the pious, and especially of the monks of Cluny. The pilgrim, in compliance with the hermit's solemn adjuration, on reaching his own country reported this to Abbot Odilo, who in 998 appointed the morrow of All Saints to be solemnly observed at Cluny for the repose of all faithful souls, with psalmody, masses, and copious alms to all poor persons who should be present.^g The celebration was early in the next century extended to the whole Cluniac order; and eventually a pope (it is not certain who) ordered its observance throughout the church.^h

^y Serm. 40, p. 101, col. 1, a.

^z "Epithalamium." Serm. 11, p. 23, col. 1, d. These passages (which I have verified) are given, with others, by Gieseler, II. i. 316-7. Peter has a strange legend as to devotion to the Virgin. Ep. vi. 29.

^a Mabillon, VII. lix.

^b Ib. lxi. lxiii.; Schröckh, xxiii. 154; Gieseler, II. i. 317-9.

^c See P. Dam. Opusc. xxiii. "De Bono Suffragiorum," l. 4.

^d Schröckh, xxiii. 153.

^e See p. 217.

^f Mosheim, ii. 248.

^g Jotsald. Vita S. Odil. ii. 14, ap. Mabillon, viii.; P. Dam. Vit. S. Odil. Opera, ii. 183. The story is somewhat differently told by another biographer. Mabill. viii. 585. Gieseler thinks the legend as to the origin of the festival later than Odilo's time, II. i. 320.

^h Gieseler, II. i. 319-321.

(5.) The passion for relics was unabated, and was gratified by the "invention" (as it may be called in more than one sense) of many very remarkable articles. Among those discovered in France during the tenth century were one of our Lord's sandals at St. Julien in Anjou, part of the rod of Moses at Sens,ⁱ and a head of St. John the Baptist (for more than one such head were shown) at St. Jean d'Angely.^k Vendome boasted the possession of one of the tears shed by our Lord over Lazarus, which had been caught by an angel.^m The discoveries extended far back into the Old Testament history; there were relics of Abraham, and hairs of Noah's beard; for of any additional improbability arising from the greater remoteness of time, the age was altogether insensible. These relics drew vast crowds of pilgrims, and became important sources of wealth to the monasteries or churches which possessed them. For the sake of such sacred objects, theft had always been reckoned venial; the peasantry of Catalonia, as we have seen, were even ready to murder St. Romuald in the hope of obtaining benefits from his remains."

The impostures connected with this superstition were numberless, and a few of them were detected. Relics were sometimes tested by fire, as those found in the Arian churches on the conversion of Spain to orthodoxy had been.ⁿ Radulph the Bald gives an account of a fellow who went about under different names, digging up bones and extolling them as relics of saints. At a place in the Alps he displayed in a portable shrine some fragments which he styled relics of a martyr, St. Just, and pretended to have discovered by the direction of an angel. A multitude of cures were wrought—a proof, says the chronicler, that the devil can sometimes do miracles; and the people of the neighbourhood flocked to the relics, "each one regretting that he had not some ailment of which he might seek to be healed." The impostor grew into high favour with a marquis who had founded a monastery at Susa; and when a number of bishops had met for the consecration, the pretended relics were mixed with others, and were placed in the church; but in the course of the following night, some monks who were watching saw a number of figures, black as Ethiops, arise out of the box and take to flight. Although, however, the fraud was thus miraculously disclosed, we are told that the common

ⁱ Radulph. Glab. iii. 6.

ⁿ P. 487.

^k Sismondi, iv. 145.

^o Gieseler, II. i. 311. See vol. i. p

^m Schröckh, xxiii. 180-3.

513.

people for a time adhered to their belief in the relic-monger.^p Nor were the dealers in relics the only persons who practised on the popular credulity in this respect; another class made it their trade to run about from one shrine to another, pretending to be cured by the miraculous virtue of the saints.^q

Contests sometimes arose as to the genuineness of relics. The monks of St. Emmeran, at Ratisbon, disputed with the great French abbey of St. Denys the possession of its patron's body.^r The monks of Monte Cassino denied the genuineness of the remains which had been translated to Fleury as those of St. Benedict;^s and we have seen that both Guesen and Prague claimed to possess the real body of St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia.^t

(6.) Pilgrimages were more frequent than ever. Rome was, as before, the chief resort, and the hardships of the way were sometimes enhanced by voluntary additions, such as that of walking barefoot.^u Compostella became another very famous place of pilgrimage from the time when the relics of St. James the Greater were supposed to be found there in 816.^x Many ventured to encounter the dangers of the long and toilsome journey to Jerusalem, where, from the ninth century, was displayed at Easter the miracle of the light produced without human hand—"considering the place, the time, and the intention, probably the most offensive imposture to be found in the world."^y This pilgrimage was often imposed as a penance;^z and the enthusiasm for voluntarily undertaking it was intensely excited by the approach of the thousandth year from the Saviour's birth, and the general expectation of the end of the world. Beginning among the humblest of the people, it gradually spread to the middle classes, and from them to the highest—to bishops,

^p Rad. Glab. iv. 3 (A.D. 1027).

^q Gieseler, II. i. 311.

^r The German chain is said to have arisen out of the fact that Charles the Simple gave one of the saint's hands to Henry the Fowler (Pagi, xvii. 66); but it was pretended that the whole body was conveyed to Ratisbon by the emperor Arnulph. The pretensions of Ratisbon were attested by many miracles, and a diploma, which bears the name of Leo IX. A.D. 1052, professes to decide in favour of them, after full inquiry on the spot (Hard. vi. 945). But the document is spurious (Cossart, ib. 1032; Pagi, xvii. 68). The monks of St. Denys, fearing that Leo was about to be drawn into the interest of their rivals, requested him to suspend his

judgment until they should have examined the tomb in their own abbey, and the result of a solemn opening was in their favour. *Detectio corporum SS. Dionysii, &c.*, ap. Bouquet, xi. 470-4; Pertz, xi. 343-375.

^s Chron. Casin. ii. 48; iv. 29 (Pertz, vii.).

^t P. 438. Gieseler, II. i. 316. For other instances, see Vogel's *Ratherius*, i. 255-7.

^u Schröckh, xxiii. 202.

^x Ib. ii. 197; xxiii. 22.

^y Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 464. See Rad. Glab. iv. 6, p. 51; Mabill. iii. 472; Schröckh, xxiii. 203-4. There is a treatise on the history of the "holy fire" by Mosheim.

^z Wilken, i. 34.

counts, and marquises, to princes and noble ladies. To die amid the hallowed scenes of Palestine was regarded as an eminent blessing, as an object of eager aspiration. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem continued to be frequented after the alarm of the world's end had passed away. In 1010 the church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by the caliph Hakem, at the instigation, it is said, of some western Jews, who alarmed him by representing the dangers which might result to him from the interest with which it was regarded by Christians.^a The Jews of France and other countries paid heavily in blood and suffering for the suspicion of having suggested the caliph's act.^b After the assassination of Hakem (a frantic tyrant, who invented a new religion, still professed by the Druses of Lebanon^c), the caliphs resumed the former system of toleration. Hakem's mother, a Christian, began the rebuilding of the church; increasing crowds of pilgrims flowed eastward, carrying with them gifts in aid of the work, and returning laden with relics;^d and the fashion continued to become more general, until in the next period it produced the great movement of the crusades.

(7.) The beginning of the eleventh century was marked by an extraordinary activity in church-building. There had been little disposition to undertake such works while the expected end of all things forbade the hope of their endurance; but when the thousandth year was completed, the building of churches became a passion. It was not limited to the providing for necessity, by the erection of new buildings or by enlargement of the old, nor even to the addition of embellishments; churches which had in every way been found amply sufficient were destroyed in order that more costly structures might be raised in their stead. "It was," says a chronicler, "as if the world were re-awaking, as if it everywhere threw away its old dress, and put on a white vesture of churches."^e And the effect on the art of architecture was important. Charlemagne's cathedral at Aix had been copied from the Byzantine type, as exhibited at Ravenna, and after it many churches along the Rhine had displayed Byzantine features, especially the surmounting cupola.^f St. Mark's at Venice, a church thoroughly

^a Michaud, i. 29.

^b Sismondi, iv. 152-3; Wilken, i. 31.

^c Gibbon, v. 400, with Dean Milman's notes; Jowett's Christian Researches in Syria, 41. Lond. 1826.

^d Rad. Glab. iii. 7.

^e Ib. iii. 7.

^f Hope, 112, 128, 217; Ampère, iii. 244. The term *Byzantine* must not, however, be too strictly taken here. See Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, 512.

Byzantine in style, was built between 976 and 1071.^g But in general the ecclesiastical architecture of the west was Roman, and the plan of the basilica was preserved.^h The churches of the eleventh century maintain the continuity of Roman art, but have yet a new character of their own. It is no longer Roman art in debasement, but a style fresh and vigorously original, the solemn, massive, and enduring architecture which, in its various modifications, has been styled *Romanesque*, *Lombard*, or *Norman*.ⁱ

It would appear that the staining of glass, which afterwards became so important in the decoration of churches, was already invented. The first mention of it has been supposed to be in a passage of Richer's history, where Adalbero, the patron of Gerbert, is said to have adorned the cathedral of Rheims with windows "containing divers histories."^k But by other authorities the art is carried up to the time between Charlemagne and Charles the Bald.^m

(8.) The system of *penance* underwent some changes. Things which had been censured by councils in the earlier part of the ninth century became authorised before its end; thus the penitential books, proscribed (as we have seen) by the council of Châlons in 813,ⁿ are named by Regino among the necessary articles of parochial furniture, as to which the bishop is to inquire at his visitation.^o By means of these books any re-enactments of old canons, or any new canons which appeared to increase the severity of penance, were practically evaded.^p The rich could commute their penance for payments to churches—for works of public utility, such as the building of bridges and making of roads—for alms to the poor, for liberation of slaves or redemption of captives, for the purchase of masses and psalms.^q The commutations for the poor were such as pilgrimages, recitation of psalms, or other devotional exercises, visiting the sick and burying the dead.^r The system of vicarious penances, which has been already

^g Hope, 123. Mr. Fergusson, however, thinks that, from the connexion of St. Mark with Alexandria, it is more likely to have been imitated from an Alexandrian model; although, as the Christian architecture of Egypt has perished, there can be no evidence in the case. 963-4.

^h Ampère, iii. 248.

ⁱ See Martin, iii. 44; Caumont, *Abécédair*, i. 54; Ampère, iii. 464; Fergusson, 533, 597.

^k Richer, iii. 23.

^m Eméric David, quoted by Ampère, iii. 252, 342.

ⁿ P. 224.

^o Gieseler, II. i. 335.

^p Planck, iii. 672-5.

^q That Planck (iii. 678) was mistaken in supposing the clergy to have had as yet no pecuniary interest in the commutation, see Gieseler, II. i. 316.

^r See the Laws of Edgar, cc. 14-19, in Thorpe. 412-4; Planck, iii. 477-480.

noticed as existing in England,^s was, with some varieties, practised in other countries also.^t Councils might and did enact, that with the outward acts which were prescribed the right dispositions of the heart should be joined. But how were these to be secured or ascertained?—how were the penitents to be preserved from the delusions which a formal prescription of outward acts as equivalent to penance could hardly fail to engender?^u And the dangers of such a system were the more serious, because, by a departure from the view taken by the early church, penance was now supposed able not only to restore the offender to the church on earth, but to assure him of the divine forgiveness.^x

With a view of increasing the hold of church-discipline on the minds of men, a distinction was invented between *excommunication* and *anathema*, and the assistance of the secular power was called in to enhance by civil penalties the terror of these sentences. Excommunication was exclusion from the privileges of the church; the heavier doom of anathema placed the offender under a curse.^y The council of Pavia in 850 enacted that the excommunicate person should be incapable of holding any military office or any employment in the service of the state, and should be excluded from ordinary intercourse with Christians.^z But anathema inflicted further punishments;—the culprit against whom it was pronounced could not be a party in ecclesiastical suits, he could not make or establish a will, he could not hold any property under the church, he could not even obtain justice in secular courts where an oath was required, because he was not admissible to swear. No priest would bless the marriage of such a person; the last sacraments were denied to him, and he was to be excluded from Christian burial—penalties which, if the sinner himself were unmoved by them, were likely to act powerfully on the minds of some who were connected with him, and often drew from these large offers of payment for the reconciliation which the church was supposed to bestow even after the offender had passed from the world.^a The

^s P. 223.

^t Planck, iii. 681; Neander, vi. 150; Gieseler, II. i. 336.

^u Planck, iii. 682. Fleury, Disc. at end of l. lix. c. 16.

^x Schröckh, xxiii. 187.

^y Planck, iii. 504-9; Gieseler, II. i. 169.

^z Conc. Regiotin, c. 12, A.D. 850.

^a Planck, iii. 512-5; Gieseler, II. i. 341-2. A story is told of Gerhard,

bishop of Toul, who died in 994, that, having found himself obliged to anathematise some nobles for invading the property of his see, and seeing no sign of repentance in them, he began to fear lest they should die unabsolved. In the kindness of his heart he privately took off the anathema every night, and imposed it afresh in the morning. Planck, iii. 514.

forms of curse became more elaborately fearful, and tales are told of the effect which they took on the unhappy men against whom they were launched, causing them to die suddenly in their impiety, or to wither away under the tortures of long and hopeless disease.^b

There were, however, some for whom the disabilities annexed to the anathema or the excommunication had little terror. Emperors and kings, counts and dukes, were strong enough to get justice for themselves, although under a sentence which would have debarred meaner men from it; they could obtain the ministrations of religion from chaplains, in defiance of all ecclesiastical sentences; they held their secular positions unaffected by the denunciations of the church.^c In order to bring such powerful offenders under control, the *Interdict* was devised—a sentence which placed a whole district or kingdom under ban, closing the churches, silencing the bells, removing the outward tokens of religion, and denying its offices to the people, except in such a measure and with such circumstances as tended to impress the imagination with a deeper horror. The infliction of penalties which involved alike the innocent and the guilty had been disapproved in earlier days.^d The first known attempt at imposing an interdict—that of the younger Hincmar—was defeated by his metropolitan and by his brother-bishops;^e and the earliest certain instance in which a bishop actually enforced such a sentence was that of Alduin, bishop of Limoges, in 994.^f An interdict pronounced against a sovereign was expected to act on him less in a direct way than by exciting the minds of his subjects; but the terrors of its indirect action were found to be such as few of the boldest, or of those who were least sensible to spiritual impressions, would venture to provoke or to defy.^g

(9.) In the earlier part of the eleventh century, a remarkable attempt was made by the clergy of France to mitigate the violence and the discords of the time. Radulph the Bald dates its origin from 1033, when the promise of an abundant harvest, after three years of frightful famine, appeared likely to open men's minds to the religious impressions connected with the completion of a thousand

^b See, for example, the curse uttered by a synod at Rheims against the murderers of archbishop Fulk, A.D. 900 (Hard. vi. 465), with Richer's account of the death of Winemar, one of the murderers, l. i. 18. A collection of forms in Martene, ii. 322-3.

^c Planck, iii. 515.

^d See St. Augustine's remonstrance with Auxilius, Ep. 250 (t. ii. col. 1066).

^e See p. 321.

^f Ademar, A.D. 994; Gieseler, II. i. 342.

^g Planck, iii. 518, 529.

years from the Saviour's passion.^h But it would seem that the movement had really begun somewhat earlier, and that the subject had already been treated by councils, as by that of Limoges in 1031—the same which decreed the apostolic dignity of St. Martial.ⁱ

With a view of putting an end to the feuds or private wars which had long wasted the population and the soil of France, it was proposed to bind men to the observance of peace; that they should abstain from wrong-doing and revenge, that all should be able to go unarmed without fear of old enmities; that churches should shelter all but those who should be guilty of breaking the "Peace of God." At the council of Limoges it was ordered that, if the chiefs of the district refused to comply, it should be laid under an interdict; that with the exception of the clergy, beggars, strangers, and infants, no one should receive Christian burial; that the offices of the church should be performed as if by stealth;^j that the churches should be stripped of their ornaments, that no marriage should be celebrated, that mourning habits should be worn, that no wine should be drunk on Friday, and no flesh should be eaten on Saturday.^m A bishop professed to have received a letter from heaven, commanding the observance of the peace. Gerard of Cambray (the same who has been mentioned as having converted a party of heretics to the Churchⁿ) alone opposed the scheme. He maintained that it was an interference with matters which belonged to the state; that the exercise of arms was sanctioned by Scripture; that it was lawful to require the restoration of things taken by violence, and amends for bodily injuries; that the proposed fasts ought not to be enforced on all, inasmuch as men were neither alike able to bear them nor alike guilty so as to require such chastisement.^o

The people, it is said, were eager to accept the proposal, as if it had been a revelation from heaven, and from Aquitaine the movement spread into other provinces of France. A harvest equal to that of five years was gathered in; another and another fruitful season followed. But plenty wore out the popular enthusiasm, violence and vice became more rife than ever,^p and the decrees of councils were little heeded until about ten years later a modified

^h Planck, iv. 4.

ⁱ See Hard. vi. 891; Cossart, ib. 894; Gieseler, II. i. 346; Götter, iv. 302.

^k "Latenter."

^m Hard. vi. 885; Rad. Glab. iv. 5.

Baronius is angry with the councils

for undertaking such business without seeking the pope's sanction, 1031. 5-6.

ⁿ P. 420.

^o Hard. vi. 893.

^p Radulph. Glab. iv. 5.

proposal was brought forward under the name of the "Truce of God." It was now proposed, not that universal peace should be established, but that war, violence, and all demands of reparation should be suspended during Advent, Lent, and certain festival seasons, and also from the evening of Wednesday in each week to the dawn of the following Monday—a time which included the whole interval from the Saviour's betrayal to his resurrection.^q And in connexion with this other decrees were passed for the protection of the weaker classes—the clergy, monks, nuns, and women—for securing the privilege of sanctuary, and for mitigating the injuries which were inflicted on the labours of husbandry,—as that shepherds and their flocks should not be injured, that olives should not be damaged, that agricultural tools should not be carried off, or, at least, should never be destroyed.^r

Henry I. of Neustria refused to allow the Truce, and it is said that, in punishment of this, his dominions were visited by an extraordinary disease, a "fire from heaven," which was fatal to many of his subjects and crippled the limbs of others.^s But the Truce was received throughout the rest of France and in other countries. St. Odilo of Cluny preached it with great effect.^t The weekly peace was, however, too long to be generally adopted. A council held in 1047 at Elne, an episcopal city of the Spanish march, reduced it to the interval between the ninth hour on Saturday and the day-break of Monday;^u and in this form it appears in the laws of Edward the Confessor.^x Even when thus abridged, it was no doubt but irregularly observed and often broken. Yet, imperfect as was the operation of the Truce, its effects were very beneficial. It tended to check the lawlessness and disorder of the times by the influence of Christian humanity and mercy. "We must," says a historian nowise favourable to the Church of the middle ages, "regard it as the most glorious of the enterprises of the clergy, as that which most conduced to soften manners, to develop the sentiments of compassion among men without injury to the spirit

^q Radulph. Glab. v. i. pp. 59-60. For the distinction of the "Truce" (*Trouva Dei*) from the "Peace of God," see Pagi, xvi. 605. The wars against which the Truce was directed were not public, but private wars. De Marca, ib. 649.

^r Conc. Narbon. A.D. 1054, cc. 9-10; Hard. vi. 841; Sismondi, iv. 249.

^s Radulph. Glab. v. i. p. 60; Chron. Virdun. ap. Bouq. xi. 145.

^t Sismondi, iv. 251.

^u Some place this council in 1027. See Hard. vi. 842; Gieseler, II. i. 346. The see of Elne was afterwards removed to Perpignan.

^x A.D. 1054. Thorpe, 190. In that year a council at Narbonne reverted to the old length (c. 2, Hard. vi. 1033); and so did another council at Elne, which Hardouin places in 1065, ib. 1148.

of bravery, to supply a reasonable basis for the point of honour, to bestow on the people as much of peace and happiness as the condition of society would then admit; and, lastly, to multiply the population to such a degree as was able afterwards to supply the vast emigrations of the Crusades."^y

IV. *Chivalry.*

It was in these times that the institution of chivalry, so powerful in its influence on the middle ages, grew up, and at the end of the period embraced in this book, the system was nearly complete.^z

We have seen that during the distractions of France castles multiplied throughout the land; that each castle became an engine of aggression and defence, a centre of depredation.^a In this state of society every man's hand was against every man; the lord of the castle lived within its walls, cut off from intercourse with his neighbours, and only sallying forth for war, for private feuds, or for plunder.^b Yet the isolation of the nobles was not without its good effects. Debarred from other equal society, the feudal lord was obliged to cultivate that of his wife and children; and hence resulted a new development of the family life. The lady was invested with new responsibilities and a new dignity; in her husband's absence, she acted as the guardian of the castle.^c And the training of youth occupied much of the time which might otherwise have hung heavily. The sons of vassals were sent to be educated under the roof of the superior, and grew up together with his own sons; thus a tie was formed which assured the lord of the fidelity of his vassals, and the vassals of their lord's protection.^d The nobly-born youths were able, like the deacon in the church, to perform offices of service without degradation.^e In the evening hours they were admitted to the society of the ladies, and from such intercourse a general refinement of manners followed among the higher classes.^f

That among the Germans the admission of a young man to the

^y Sismondi, iv. 248.

^z Guizot, iii. 91.

^a P. 381.

^b Guizot, i. 68-72; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 125-9.

^c Hallam, ii. 465; Guizot, iii. 91. See his picture of the mother of Gilbert of Nogent, in the middle of the twelfth century, 92-5.

^d Sismondi, iv. 205-6; Guizot, iii. 102.

^e Ste. Palaye, Mém. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, i. 18, Paris, 1781; Sismondi, iv. 204. The relation of apprentice to master among the trading class was afterwards copied from this.

^f Ste. Palaye, i. 16; Sismondi, ii. 206.

rank of warriors was marked by a public investiture with arms, we know from the evidence of Tacitus.^g The custom was kept up after the Frankish conquest of Gaul, and is to be traced from time to time in the annals.^h The ancient national usage now acquired a new importance; it at once signified the admission of the youth to the order of Knighthood, and symbolised the tie between the vassal and the superior.ⁱ It was celebrated with religious ceremonies which gave it the character of a military ordination. The candidate—a son of the lord or of one of his vassals—was stripped of his dress, was bathed as if in a baptism, was clothed afresh with garments of symbolical meaning; he watched his arms in the castle chapel; he confessed and communicated; his armour was put on, his weapons were blessed, an exhortation as to his duties was addressed to him, he solemnly engaged himself to serve God, to protect the ladies and the weak, to be faithful and humble, gentle, courteous, honourable, and disinterested. According to a practice which was common in attesting documents and the like, he received a blow in remembrance of his engagements, and by this blow, for which a stroke of the sword was afterwards substituted, the ceremony was completed.^k

The nature of these ceremonies proves that the clergy had taken up the ancient national rite of initiation, and had converted it to purposes of religion and humanity; and this is no less evident from the engagements to which the knight was bound—differing so widely as they did from the general character of the laity in the times when they were introduced.^m And poetry as well as religion soon threw itself around the new institution. The legends of saints, which for centuries had been the only popular literature, were now rivalled by lays and romances of knightly adventure,ⁿ and the ideal embodied in these compositions—"noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship"^o—became the model which the knights aspired to imitate. The

^g Germania, 13; Scott, Essay on Chivalry, Miscell. Works, vi. 6.

^h Ste. Palaye, i. 67-8; Guizot, iii. 103 (whose view here differs from Sismondi's).

ⁱ Guizot, iii. 106.

^k Ste. Palaye, i. 71, seqq.; Scott, vi. 11; Guizot, iii. 107-111; Sismondi, iv. 202. The blow was not intended as an affront (as has been wrongly supposed), but was given for the purpose mentioned in the text. See Chart. pro Mo-

nast. Pratellensi, ap. Bouquet, xi. 387; Ordre de la Chevalerie, quoted by Ste. Palaye, Dissert. ii. n. 25; Sismondi, 203. Even in our own time means of this kind are used for impressing on the mind the remembrance of parish boundaries.

^m Guizot, iii. 111.

ⁿ See Hist. Litt. vi. 16.

^o Pref. to Mort d'Arthur, quoted by Digby, Godefridus, 17.

history of the ages in which chivalry prevailed shows indeed a state of things far unlike the pure and lofty precepts of the institution; yet, however the reality may have fallen short of the ideal, it was a great boon for civilisation that such a pattern should be established as authoritative—that men should acknowledge such a standard in their hearts, although their actual lives presented too commonly a sad and discreditable contrast to it.^P

^P Hallam, ii. 459-462.

BOOK III.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF SUTRI TO THE CONCORDAT OF
WORMS, A.D. 1046-1122.

CHAPTER I.

THE PONTIFICATES OF CLEMENT II., DAMASUS II., LEO IX., VICTOR II.,
STEPHEN IX., NICOLAS II., AND ALEXANDER II. (A.D. 1046-1073).

THE deposition of Gregory VI. and his rivals by the council of Sutri left the papacy vacant. It was said that the Roman clergy were almost universally disqualified for the dignity by ignorance, simony, or concubinage,^a and Henry III. resolved to bestow it on one of the prelates who had accompanied him from Germany—Suidger, a Saxon by birth, and bishop of Bamberg. The nomination of Suidger is said by some authorities to have taken place at Sutri;^b but his formal inauguration was, according to ancient custom, reserved to be performed at Rome. On Christmas-eve, 1046, the day after his arrival, Henry desired the Romans, assembled in St. Peter's, to proceed to the election of a pope. They answered that they were bound by an oath to choose no other pope during the lifetime of Gregory, but they begged that the king would give them one who might be useful to the church. Henry was invested with the ensigns of the patriciate, and in the character of patrician presented Suidger to the assembly. In answer to his question whether any worthier pope could be named from among the Roman clergy, no voice was raised by way of objection; and Henry, leading Suidger by the hand, seated him in St. Peter's chair, where he was hailed with acclamations as Clement the Second.^c On Christmas-day, the imperial coronation of Henry

^a Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. Benzo. Bonizo, 802, is not clear. xviii. 853); Bonizo, 802.

^b For this supposition, see Luden, viii. ^c Herm. Contr. A.D. 1046; Victor III., Dial. iii. p. 854; Bonizo, 802; Höfler, i. 232; Gieseler, II. i. 228; Döllinger, i. 433; Milman, iii. 3.

and his queen Agnes was celebrated with extraordinary splendour and solemnity.^d

The emperor was earnestly bent on a reformation of the church, and had selected Suidger as a fit agent for the execution of his plans. Soon after his election, the pope held a council Jan. 1047. with a view to the correction of abuses, and it was decreed that any one who had received ordination from a simoniac, knowing him to be such, should do penance for forty days.^e But beyond this, little or nothing is known of Clement, except that he visited the south of Italy, and that his pontificate lasted less than ten months—his death having taken place in October, 1047.^f Benedict IX., supported by his kinsmen, and by Boniface, the powerful marquis of Tuscany, seized the opportunity of again thrusting himself for a time into possession of the vacant see.^g

The emperor had returned to Germany in June, 1047, carrying with him the deposed pope, Gregory. At a great assembly of bishops and nobles, which appears to have been held at Spire, Henry strongly denounced the simony which had generally prevailed in the disposal of church preferment. He declared himself apprehensive that his father's salvation might have been endangered by such traffic in holy things. The sin of simony, which infected the whole hierarchy, from the chief pontiff to the doorkeeper, had drawn down the scourges of famine, pestilence, and the sword; and all who had been guilty of it must be deposed. These words spread consternation among the prelates, who felt that they were all involved in the charge, and they implored the emperor to have pity on them. He replied by desiring them to use well the offices which they had obtained by unlawful means, and to pray earnestly for the soul of Conrad, who had been a partaker in their guilt. An edict was published against all simoniacal promotions, and Henry solemnly pledged himself to bestow his ecclesiastical patronage as freely as he had received the empire.^h

But while the emperor projected a reformation of the church by means of his own authority, there was a party among the clergy which contemplated a more extensive reform, and which looked to a different agency for effecting it. This party was willing for the time to accept Henry's assistance;ⁱ for his sincerity was unques-

^d Hölzer, i. 234-250.

^e Hard. vi. 923-5.

^f See Pagi, xvii. 10-11; Luden, viii.

218; Stenzel, i. 118.

^g Annales Romani, Pertz, v. 469.

^h Rad. Glab. v. 5. See Stenzel, ii. 132. Pagi (xvii. 7) thinks that Clement was present at this assembly.

ⁱ See Pet. Damiani, Lib. Gratissimus, c. 36.

tionable, his power was an important auxiliary, and his objects in some degree were the same with its own. Like the emperor, these reformers desired to extirpate simony, and to deliver the papacy from the tyranny of the Italian nobles. But their definition of simony was more rigid than his; with simony their abhorrence connected the marriage and concubinage of the clergy, offences which Henry (perhaps from a consciousness that his own character was not irreproachable as to chastity),^k did not venture to attack; and above all things they dreaded the ascendancy of the secular power over the church. To the connexion of the church with the state, to the feudal obligations of the prelates, they traced the grievous scandals which had long disgraced the hierarchy—the rude and secular habits of the bishops, their fighting and hunting, their unseemly pomp and luxury, their attempts to render their preferments hereditary in their own families.^m And what if the empire were to achieve such an entire control over the papacy and the church as Henry appeared to be gaining? What would be the effect of such power, when transferred from the noble, conscientious, and religious emperor to a successor of different character? The church must not depend on the personal qualities of a prince; it must be guided by other hands, and under a higher influence; national churches, bound up with and subject to the state, were unequal to the task of reformation, which must proceed, not from the state, but from the hierarchy, from the papacy, from heaven through Christ's viceregent, the successor of St. Peter; to him alone on earth it must be subject; and for this purpose all power must be centered in the papacy.ⁿ

Henry had exacted from the Romans an engagement, for which he is said to have paid largely, that they would not again choose a pope without his consent.^o A deputation in the interest of the reforming party now waited on him with a request that he would name a successor to Clement. They would have wished for the restoration of Gregory VI.; but, as such a proposal was likely to offend the emperor, they begged that he would appoint Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, who was well known and highly esteemed at Rome in consequence of frequent pilgrimages to the "threshold of the apostles."^p Halinard, however, had no wish for the pro-

^k See Rad. Glaber, v. 1. Luden disbelieves this charge, viii. 644.

^m Voigt's Hildebrand, 8-9.

ⁿ De Rémusat, "S. Anselme," 186.

^o Vita Halinardi, c. 7 (Mabill. ix.); Annal. Rom. (Pertz, v. 469). The con-

tinual mention of the influence of money at Rome is a remarkable feature in these Annals.

^p Vit. Halin. c. 7; Chron. S. Benign. Divion. Pertz, vii. 237.

motion, and avoided the court. Henry requested the advice of Wazo, bishop of Liege, whose wise and merciful advice as to the treatment of heretics has been mentioned in a former chapter;^q the answer recommended the restoration of Gregory, whose deposition Wazo ventured to blame on the ground that the pope could not be judged except by God alone. But before this letter reached Dec. 25, Henry, his choice had already fallen on Poppo, bishop of 1047. Brixen, who assumed the name of Damasus II.^r The new pope was conducted to Rome by Boniface, marquis of Tuscany; Benedict fled at his approach; on the 17th of July 1048, he was installed in St. Peter's chair; and on the 9th of August he was dead.^s The speedy deaths of two German popes were ascribed by some to poison; the opinion of another party is represented in the fierce national and religious hatred of Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, who tells us that Damasus, "a man full of all pride," was appointed by the patricial tyranny of Henry, and that within twenty days after his invasion of the pontifical chair he "died in body and in soul."^t

The emperor was again requested to name a pope, and fixed on his cousin Bruno. Bruno had been chosen as bishop by the clergy and people of Toul, and had accepted that poor see against the will of Henry, who had destined him for higher preferment; he enjoyed a great reputation for piety, learning, prudence, charity, and humility; he was laborious in his duties, an eloquent preacher, a skilful musician.^x From unwillingness to undertake the perilous dignity which was now offered to him, he desired three days for consideration, and openly confessed his sins with a view of proving his unfitness. But the emperor insisted on the nomination, and at a great assembly at Worms, in presence of the Roman envoys, Bruno was invested with the ensigns of the papacy.^y After revisiting Toul, he set out for Italy in pontifical state; but at Besançon it is said that he was met by Hugh abbot of Cluny, accompanied by an Italian monk named Hildebrand; and the result of the meeting was memorable.^z

^q P. 422.

^r Anselm. *Gesta Episc. Leod.* c. 65; Pertz, vii.

^s Herm. *Contr. A.D.* 1018, and note, Pertz, v. 128; Jaffé.

^t Lupus Protospatharius asserts this as to Clement, ascribing the crime to Benedict IX. (Jaffé); Benno, as to Damasus, ap. Goldast. *Apol. Henrici*, 13.

^u Bonizo, p. 803; Luden, viii. 221.

^x Wibert, *Vita Leonis*, ii. 8-13 (Mabill. ix.)

^y Ib. ii. 2.

^z The interview is not mentioned by Wibert, and is therefore questioned by Pagi (xvii. 20), Stenzel (i. 121), and others. Some place it at Worms, where they suppose Hildebrand to have been at the time of the pope's nomination; others say that Leo sent for him. I follow Bonizo (803) in placing the meeting at Besançon. See Schröckh, xvi. 339; Theiner, ii. 6; Neander, vi. 50; Gieseler, II. i. 231; Voigt, 8; Luden,

Hildebrand, the son of a carpenter, was born at Soana in Tuscany, between 1010 and 1020.^a From an early age he was trained for the ecclesiastical profession under an uncle, who was abbot of St. Mary's on the Aventine, at Rome.^b He embraced the most rigid ideas of monachism, and, disgusted with the laxity which prevailed among the Italian monks, he crossed the Alps, and entered the austere foundation of Cluny, where it is said that the abbot, Odilo, already applied to him the prophetic words "He shall be great in the sight of the Highest."^c After leaving Cluny, he visited the court of Henry, and on his return to Rome he became chaplain to Gregory VI., whose pupil he had formerly been. On the deposition of Gregory, Hildebrand accompanied him into Germany,^d and at his patron's death in the beginning of 1048, he again withdrew to Cluny. There it may be supposed that he brooded indignantly over that subjection of the Church to the secular power which had been exemplified in the deprivation and in the captivity of Gregory; and that those theories became matured in his mind which were to influence the whole subsequent history of the church and of the world.^e

The character of Hildebrand was lofty and commanding. His human affections had been deadened by long monastic discipline; the church alone engrossed his love. Filled with lofty visions of ecclesiastical grandeur, he pursued his designs with an indomitable steadiness, with a far-sighted patience, with a deep, subtle, and even unscrupulous policy. He well knew how to avail himself of small advantages as means towards more important ends, or to forego the lesser in hope of attaining the greater. He knew how to conciliate and even to flatter, as well as how to threaten

viii. 227; Bowden, i. 139; Höfler, ii. 6; Greg. Ep. i. 79, supposes that they lived at Cologne—155.

^a Hildebrand says of himself at the Roman synod of 1080, that he accompanied Gregory VI. over the Alps "unwillingly" (Hard. vi. 1589); hence there is a question whether, on account of some unknown share in the late affairs of Rome, he was included in the order for his master's banishment, as is asserted by Benno (ap. Goldast. 13); or whether his "unwillingness" merely relates to his dissatisfaction on account of the treatment of Gregory. See Luden, viii. 207-8, 643. Voigt thinks it probable that he went at Gregory's request. P. 31. The statement that he was prior of Cluny seems to have arisen from a confusion with another Hildebrand. Mabillon, ix. 407.

^b Paul. Bernriedensis, Vita Gregorii,

c. 9. ap. Mabill. ix. Fables as to his early years may be found in Annal. Saxo.—Pertz, vi. 701.

^c Paul Bernr. 2, 11 (who wrongly calls the abbot Majolus).

^d Floto, altering *nostri* to *restri* in

and to denounce. Himself impenetrable and inflexible, he was especially skilled in understanding the characters of other men, and in using them as his instruments, even although unconscious or unwilling.

In his interviews with Bruno, Hildebrand represented the unworthiness of accepting from the emperor that dignity which ought to be conferred by the free choice of the Roman clergy and people. His lofty views and his powerful language prevailed; the pope laid aside his robes and other insignia, and, taking Hildebrand as his companion, pursued his journey in the simple dress of a pilgrim. His arrival at Rome, roughly clad and barefooted, produced a stronger impression than all the pomp of sacerdotal or imperial power; miracles are said to have marked his way, and at his prayer the swollen waters of the Tevere sank within their usual bounds.^f In St. Peter's he addressed the assembled Romans, telling them that he had come for purposes of devotion; that the emperor had chosen him as pope, but that it was for them to ratify or to annul the choice.^g The hearers were strongly excited by his words; they could not but be delighted to find that, renouncing the imperial nomination as insufficient, he chose to rest on their free election as the only legitimate title to the papacy. Nor was Bruno an

unknown man among them; for yearly pilgrimages to
Feb. 12. Rome had made them familiar with his sanctity and his virtues;^h and he was hailed with universal acclamations as Pope Leo the Ninth.

Hildebrand was now the real director of the papacy. Leo ordained him subdeacon, and bestowed on him the treasurership of the church, with other preferments. Among these was the abbey of St. Paul, which he restored from decay and disorder, and to which he was throughout life so much attached that, whenever he met with a check in any of his undertakings, he used to send for some of the monks, and asked them what sin they had committed to shut up God's ear against their intercessions for him.ⁱ

The party of which Hildebrand was the soul was further strengthened by some able men whom Leo brought from beyond the Alps, and placed in high dignities—such as the cardinals Humbert, Stephen,^k and Hugh the White, Frederick, brother of Godfrey duke of Lorraine, and Azolin, bishop of Sutri. But beyond all these was conspicuous an Italian whom Leo introduced among the Roman clergy—Peter Damiani.^m

^f Wibert, *Vita Leonis*, ii. 2.

^g *Ib.*; Bonizo, 803.

^h Wibert, ii. 1.

ⁱ P. Bernried, 13-4; Bonizo, 803.

^k See *Hist. Litt.* viii. 1.

^m Bonizo, 803.

This remarkable man was born at Ravenna, in the year 1002. His mother was wrought to a sort of frenzy by the unwelcome addition to a family already inconveniently large, and would have left the infant to perish; but when almost dead, he was saved by the wife of a priest, whose upbraidings recalled the mother to a sense of her duty towards her offspring.ⁿ He lost his parents early; a brother who undertook the care of him treated him harshly, and employed him in feeding swine; but the boy was rescued from this servitude by another brother, Damian, whose name he assumed in token of his gratitude.^o Peter was now enabled to study; he became famous as a teacher, pupils flocked to hear him, and their fees brought him abundant wealth. His life meanwhile was strictly ascetic; he wore sackcloth secretly, he fasted, watched, prayed, and, in order to tame his passions, he would rise from bed, stand for hours in a stream until his limbs were stiff with cold, and spend the remainder of the night in visiting churches, and reciting the psalter.^p He was struck by the thought that it would be well to renounce his position, while in the full enjoyment of its advantages, and his resolution was determined by the visit of two brethren from the hermit society of Fonte Avellano in Umbria. On his giving them a large silver cup as a present for their abbot, the monks begged him to exchange it for something lighter and more portable; and, deeply moved by their unworldly simplicity, he quitted Ravenna without the knowledge of his friends, and became a member of their rigid order.^q Peter soon surpassed all his brethren in austerity of life, and even gained the reputation of miraculous power. He taught at Fonte Avellano and in other monasteries, and was raised to the dignity of abbot.^r

The elevation of Gregory VI. was hailed by Damiani with delight, as the dawn of a new era for the church.^s His hopes from that pope were soon extinguished by the council of Sutri; but he continued to exert himself in the cause of reform, and he was employed by Henry III. to urge on Pope Clement the necessity of extirpating the simony which the emperor had found everywhere prevailing as he returned homewards through northern Italy.^t

The character of Damiani was an extraordinary mixture of strength and of weakness. He was honest, rigid in his sanctity,

ⁿ Vita, c. 2, prefixed to his works.

^o His name is not Petrus Damianus, but Damiani—the brother of Damian.

^p Vita, 2.

^q Ib. 4. See also Opusc. xiv. t. iii.

140-3.

^r Vita, 5-13.

^s See p. 415.

^t P. Dam. Ep. i. 3.

gifted with a ready and copious eloquence, but destitute of judgment or discretion, unmeasured in his credulity, full of a simple vanity, narrow in his views, zealous and energetic in carrying them out. His reading was considerable, but limited in its nature, and in great part of a very idle character. His letters and tracts present a medley of all the learning and of all the allegorical misinterpretations of Scripture that he can heap together; his arguments are seasoned and enforced by the strangest illustrations and by the wildest and most extravagant legends. The humour which he often displays is rather an oddity than a talent or a power; he himself speaks of it as "buffoonery,"^u and penitentially laments that he cannot control it. In our own age and country such a man would probably be among the most fluent, the busiest, the most unreasonable and the most uncharitable enemies of Rome; in his actual circumstances Peter Damiani was its most devoted servant. Yet his veneration for the papacy did not prevent him from sometimes addressing its occupants with the most outspoken plainness,^x or even from remonstrating against established Roman usages, as when he wrote to Alexander II. against the Decretal principle that a bishop should not be accused by a member of his flock,^y and against the practice of annexing to decrees on the most trivial subjects the awful threat of an anathema.^z In such cases it would seem that he was partly influenced by a strong and uncompromising feeling of right, and partly by his passion for exercising in all directions the office of a monitor and a censor. If Hildebrand understood how to use men as his tools, Peter was fitted to be a tool.^a He felt that Hildebrand was his master, and his service was often unwilling; he vented his discontent in letters and in epigrams, but he obeyed his "hostile friend," his "saintly Satan."^b

The superstitions of the age had no more zealous votary than Damiani. His language as to the Blessed Virgin has already been noticed.^c From him the practice of voluntary flagellation, although it was not altogether new,^d derived a great increase of popularity. He recommended it as "a sort of purgatory," and defended it against all assailants. If, he argued, our Lord, with his apostles and martyrs, submitted to be scourged, it must be a good deed to imitate their sufferings by inflicting chastisement on ourselves; if Moses in the Law prescribed scourging for the guilty,

^u "Scurrilitas," Ep. v. 2.

^x E. g. Ep. i. 5, to Victor II.

^y See Schmidt, ii. 297-8.

^z Ep. i. 12.

^a See Ep. ii. 8.

^b I. e. adversary or accuser. Ep. i. 11.

^c P. 496.

^d It is mentioned by Regino. See

It is well thus to punish ourselves for our sins; if men are allowed to redeem their sins with money, surely those who have no money ought to have *some* means of redemption provided for them.² Cardinal Stephen ventured to reflect on this decision, and induced the monks of Monte Cassino to give up the custom of flogging themselves every Friday, much had been adapted at the instance of Peter;³ but the sudden and premature death of Stephen and his brother soon after gave a triumph to the champions who represented them as a judgment on the curialists's profligacy.⁴

In addition to other writings, Dominic contributed to the cause of legislation a list of one Dominic, the great hero of the nation against the Pope.⁵ Dominic had been ordained a priest; but on his discovering that his parents had procured a piece of goatskin leather to the bishop who ordained him, his heart at the sentimental act led him to renounce all priestly functions and to withdraw to the rigid life of a hermit. He afterwards placed himself under Damiano, and his penance gave the heart of the abbot and of his brethren. Next to him that he wore a white hair-culver, which he never put off except to cleanse himself. His body and his arms were covered by iron rings, his neck was bound with heavy chains; his scanty clothes were made to drag, and fast consisted of bread and straw, his skin was as black as a negro's from the effects of his discipline.⁶ Dominic's usual occupation was to move the pulter some way, while he hugged himself with bare hands at the rate of a thousand lashes to the pulter. It was reckoned that three thousand lashes were equal to a year of penance; the whole pulter, therefore, with this arrangement, was equivalent to five years. In Lent, on an occasion of special penance, the daily average rose to three pulters; he "usually" got through twenty—equal to a hundred years of penance—in six days; now, at the beginning of Lent, he begged that a penance of a thousand years might be imposed on him, and he cleared off the whole before Easter. He often performed eight or even nine pulters within twenty-four hours; it was long before he could achieve two, but at length he was able on one occasion to accomplish twelve, and reached the thirty-second pulter in a thirteenth.⁷ These legislations were supposed to have the effect of a satisfaction for the sins

² *Medieval*, viii. xxi. *Scholastic*, xiv.

³ *Opera*, ii. 210, seqq.

⁴ 182; *Gregorio*, II. 1. 1. 1.

⁵ *How the spirit of man is a*

⁶ *Epp.* v. 8; vi. 21; *Opusc.* xlii.,

known, *Locuste*.

⁷ *De Laude Flagellorum*.

⁸ C. II.

⁹ *Ce.* 8-10.

¹⁰ *Opusc.* xlii. c. 2.

of other men.ⁿ In his latter years, for the sake of greater severity, Dominic substituted leathern thongs for the bundles of twigs which he had before used in his discipline. He also increased the number of the rings which galled his flesh, and the weight of the chains which hung from his neck; but we are told that sometimes, as he prayed, his rings would fly asunder, or would become soft and pliable.^o The death of Dominic took place in the year 1062.^p

The marriage of the clergy was especially abominable in the eyes of Peter Damiani. He wrote, preached, and laboured against it; his language on such subjects is marked by the grossest and most disgusting indecency. Soon after Leo's accession, he presented to him a treatise the contents of which may be guessed from its frightful title—"The Book of Gomorrha."^q The statements which are here given as to the horrible offences which resulted from the law of clerical celibacy might have suggested a plea for a relaxation of that discipline, but Peter urges them as an argument for increasing its severity. He classifies the sins of the unchaste clergy, and demands the deposition of all. Leo thanked him for the book, but decided that, although all carnal intercourse is forbidden to the clergy by Scripture and the laws of the church, all but the worst and the most inveterate sinners should be allowed, if penitent, to retain their offices.^r A later pontiff, Alexander II., obtained possession of the manuscript under pretence of getting it copied; but he showed his opinion of its probable effects by locking it up, and the author complains that, when he attempted to reclaim it, the pope jested at him and treated him like a player.^s

The renunciation by Leo of the title derived from the emperor's nomination might have been expected to alarm Henry. His kinsman, the object of his patronage, had become the pope of the clergy and of the people, and might have seemed to place himself in opposition to the empire. But Henry appears to have regarded the behaviour of Leo as an instance of the modesty for which he had been noted. He made no remonstrance; and Hildebrand was careful to give him no provocation by needless displays of papal independence.^t

Leo found the treasury so exhausted that he even thought of

ⁿ Fleury, l. 62.

^o Ce. 10-12.

^p Mabillon, ix. 149.

^q Opusc. ix. See Theiner, ii. 24.

^r Leo, Ep. 15; Hard. vi. 976.

^s Ep. ii. 6, where he requests Hildebrand to help him in recovering it.

^t Luden, viii. 239; Bowden, ii. 146.

providing for his necessities by selling the vestments of the church." But by degrees the rich and various sources which fed the papal revenue began to flow again, so that he was in a condition to carry on his administration with vigour, and to undertake measures of reform. A synod was held at which he proposed to annul the orders of all who had been ordained by ^{A.D. 1049.} simoniacs. But it was represented to him that such a measure would in many places involve a general deprivation of the clergy, and a destitution of the means of grace. The definition of simony had in truth been extended over many things to which we can hardly attach the idea of guilt. It was now no longer limited to the purchase of holy orders, or even of benefices; it was simony to pay anything in the nature of fees or first fruits, or even to make a voluntary present to a bishop or a patron; it was simony to obtain a benefice, not only by payment, but as the reward of service or as the tribute of kindness. "There are three kinds of gifts," says Peter Damiani; "gifts of the hand, of obedience, and of the tongue."^x The service of the court he declares to be a worse means of obtaining preferment than the payment of money;^y while others give money, the price paid by courtly clerks is nothing less than their very selves.^z In consideration of the universal prevalence of simony, therefore, Leo found himself obliged to mitigate his sentence, and to revert to the order of Clement II., that all who had been ordained by known simoniacs should do penance for forty days.^a

Leo entered on a new course of action against the disorders of the Church. The bishops were so deeply implicated in these that from them no thorough reformation could be expected; the pope would take the matter into his own hands, and would execute it in person. Imitating the system of continual movement by which Henry carried his superintendence into every corner of the empire, ^{A.D. 1049.} he set out on a circuit of visitation. On the way he visited Gualbert of Vallombrosa, an important ally of Hildebrand's party.^b He crossed the Alps, and, redressing wrongs, consecrating churches,

^x Wibert, ii. 3.

^y Ep. ii. 1.

^z Ep. i. 13.

^a Opusc. xxii. c. 2; cf. Lib. Gratissim. c. 35. This book was written against the opinion that orders given by simoniacs are invalid. Peter argues that the grace of ordination does not depend on the man who gives it, but on his office. The children of blind or deformed per-

sons do not inherit the defects of their parents (c. 28). Even miracles have been done by simoniac and incontinent bishops and clergy, and by persons who had been ordained by such bishops (28-9). Opera, iii. 36, seqq.

^b Hard. vi. 991.

^c Atto, Vita S. Joh. Gualb. c. 26. (Mabill. ix.)

and conferring privileges on monasteries as he proceeded, he reached Col6gne and Aix-la-Chapelle. At Aix he effected a reconciliation between the emperor and Godfrey, duke of Lower Lorraine, who for some years had disturbed the public peace. Godfrey was sentenced to restore the Cathedral of Verdun, which he had burnt; he submitted to be scourged at the altar, and laboured with his 6wn hands at the masonry of the church.^c

As bishop of Toul (which see he still retained, as Clement II. had retained Bamberg) Leo had promised to attend the consecration of the abbey church of St. Remigius at Rheims. He now announced his intention of fulfilling the promise, and at Toul issued letters summoning the bishops of France to attend a synod on the occasion.^d The announcement struck terror into many—into prelates who dreaded an inquiry into their practices, and into laymen of high rank whose morals would not bear examination; and some of these beset the ears of the French king, Henry I. It was, they said, a new thing for a pope to assume the right of entering France without the sovereign's permission; the royal power was in danger of annihilation if he allowed the pope to rule within his dominions, or countenanced him by his presence at the council. Henry had already accepted an invitation, but these representations alarmed him. He did not, however, venture to forbid the intended proceedings, but excused himself on the plea of a military expedition, and begged that Leo would defer his visit until a more settled time, when the king might be able to receive him with suitable honours. The pope replied that he was resolved to attend the dedication of the church, and that, if he should find faithful persons there, he intended to hold a council.^e

The assemblage at Rheims was immense. The Franks of the
 Oct. 2, east met with those of Gaul to do honour to the apostle
 1049. of their race. There were prelates and nobles, clergy and monks, laymen and women of every condition, whose offerings formed an enormous heap. All ranks were mixed in the crowd; they besieged the doors of the church on the eve of the ceremony, and thousands passed the night in the open air, which was brilliantly lighted by their tapers.^f The pope repeatedly threatened to leave the great work undone, unless the multitude would relax its pres-

^c Lamb. Hertsf. 1046, 1049. (Pertz, v.) There were other examples of such flagellation in that age. Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, was flogged at the altar for simony by Guy, abbot of Pomposa (Donizo, Vita Mathildis, i. 16. ib. xii.);

and Henry III. himself submitted to chastisement by Hanno of Cologne. Vita Annonis, ib. xi. 469.

^d Hard. vi. 993-4.

^e Ib. 996.

^f Ib. 998.

sure. At length the body of St. Remigius was with difficulty borne through the mass of spectators, whose excitement was now raised to the uttermost. Many wept, many swooned away, many were crushed to death. The holy relics were lowered into the church through a window, as the only practicable entrance, and the crowds, excluded by the doors, seized the hint, and swarmed in at the windows. The body was not at once deposited in its intended resting-place, but was placed aloft above the high altar, that its presence might give solemnity to the proceedings of the council.^g

On the day after the consecration the council met. Some of the French bishops and abbots had been compelled to join the royal army.^h About twenty bishops and fifty abbots were present—among them were the bishop of Wells, the abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and the abbot of Romsey.ⁱ The pope placed himself with his face towards the body of St. Remigius, and desired the prelates to sit in a circle around him. It was announced that the council was held for the reformation of disorders in the Church and for the general correction of morals, and the bishops were required to come forward and to swear that they had not been guilty of simony either in obtaining their office or in their exercise of it. The archbishops of Treves, Lyons, and Besançon took the oath. The archbishop of Rheims requested delay; he was admitted to two private interviews with the pope, and, at the second session of the council, he obtained a respite until a council which was to be held at Rome in the following April.^k

Of the bishops, all but four took the oath; of the abbots, some swore, while others by silence confessed their guilt.^m Hugh, bishop of Langres, was charged with many and grievous offences; witnesses deposed that he had both acquired and administered his office simoniacally, that he had borne arms and had slain men, that he had cruelly oppressed his clergy, and even had used torture as a means of exacting money from them; that he had been guilty of adultery and of unnatural lust. After having been allowed to confer with the archbishops of Lyons and Besançon, he requested that these prelates might be admitted to plead his cause. The archbishop of Besançon, on standing up for the purpose, found himself unable to utter a word, and made a sign to Halinard of Lyons, who acknowledged his client's simony and extortion, but denied the other charges.ⁿ The bishops of Nevers and Coutances

^g Hard. 999-1000.^h Ib. 996.^k Ib. 1003.^m Ib.ⁱ Ib. 1002; Collier, i. 520; Lingard,ⁿ Ib. 1004.

II. E. i. 331.

professed that their preferments had been bought for them by their relations, but without their own knowledge or consent, and, on their submission, were allowed to retain their sees. The bishop of Nantes, who confessed that he had purchased the succession to his father in the bishoprick, was degraded to the order of presbyter.^o

At the end of the first session it was asked, under the threat of anathema, whether any member acknowledged any other primate of the Church than the bishop of Rome. A general silence admitted the pope's claim and the lawfulness of his proceedings, and he was then declared to be primate of the whole Church and apostolic pontiff.^p

At the second session it was found that the bishop of Langres had fled during the night. The archbishop of Besançon acknowledged that his dumbness of the preceding day was the infliction of St. Remigius; the pope and prelates prostrated themselves before the relics of the saint, and Hugh of Langres was deposed.^q The council lasted three days. Twelve canons were passed, of which the first declared that no one should be promoted to a bishoprick without the choice of his clergy and people. Excommunications were pronounced against the archbishop of Sens and other prelates who, whether from fear of the pope's inquisition, or in obedience to the king's summons, had neglected the citation to the council; and we are told that within a year the judgments of heaven fell heavily on the counsellors who had influenced Henry against the pope. The bishop of Compostella was also excommunicated for assuming the title of apostolic, and attempting to set up an independent Spanish papacy.^r The Breton bishops, whose church had long been separate from that of Rome, and whose chief styled himself archbishop, had been summoned to Rheims, but, as they did not attend, were charged to appear at Rome.^s

From Rheims Leo proceeded to Mentz, where a council was held in the emperor's presence; and Sibicho, bishop of Spire, purged himself of a charge of adultery by receiving the holy Eucharist.^t

The pope returned to Italy in triumph. He had assured himself

^o Hard. 1006.

^p Ib. 1003; Planck, iv. 23-5.

^q Ib. 1005. He afterwards, by a very humble submission at Rome, obtained his restoration to the episcopal order, and became a monk at St. Vanne's of Verdun, where he died. Chron. S. Vit. Virdun. ap. Lanfranc. Append. p. 67.

^r Hard. vi. 1007.

^s Ib. 1004.

^t Lambert of Hersfeld (A.D. 1050) and Adam of Bremen (iii. 29) speak as if Sibicho was successful in the ordeal. Wibert says that his cheek was affected with palsy during the rest of his life; his inference, however, is, not that the bishop was guilty, but that even for the innocent such trials are fearful. De Obit. Leon. c. 6.

of the support of Germany, and had crushed the tendencies to independence which had appeared in France and in Spain." The system of visitations which he had thus commenced was continued throughout his pontificate, and its result was greatly to increase the influence of Rome. He practically and successfully asserted for himself powers beyond those which had been annexed to the papacy by the forged decretals. The pope entered kingdoms without regard to the will of the sovereign; he denounced the curses of the church against prelates whose allegiance to their king interfered with obedience to his mandate. He was not only to judge, but to originate inquiries; and these were carried on under the awe of his personal presence without the ordinary forms of justice. Bishops were required by oath to accuse themselves, and the process of judgment was summary.^x Yet, startling as were the novelties of such proceedings, Leo was able to venture on them with safety; for the popular feeling was with him, and supported him in all his aggressions on the power of princes or of bishops. His presence was welcomed everywhere as that of a higher power come to redress the grievances under which men had long been groaning; there was no disposition to question his pretensions on account of their novelty; this novelty rather gave them a charm, because the deliverance which he offered had not before been dreamt of. And the manner in which his judgments were conducted was skilfully calculated to disarm opposition. Whatever there might be of a new kind in it, the trial was before synods, the old legitimate tribunal; bishops were afraid to protest lest they should be considered guilty; and while the process for the discovery of guilt was unusually severe, it was, in the execution, tempered with an appearance of mildness which took off much from its severity. Offenders were allowed to state circumstances in extenuation of their guilt, and their excuses were readily admitted. The lenity shown to one induced others to submit, and thus the pope's assumptions were allowed to pass without objection.^y

Leo again crossed the Alps in 1050, and, a third time in 1052. This last expedition was undertaken in part for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation between the emperor and Andrew, king of Hungary, who had become a Christian, and had re-established the profession of the Gospel in his dominions; but the pope's mediation proved unsuccessful.^z Another object of the

^u Milman, iii. 18.

^x Planck, iv. 17-8.

^y Planck, iv. 26-34; Gieseler, II. i. 229; Milman, iii. 18.

^z Wibert, ii. 8.

journey was to request the emperor's aid against the Normans. These had now firmly established themselves in southern Italy; they warred against both empires, or took investiture from either, according to their convenience. Their neighbours were never safe from their aggressions; they invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, assaulted the pope's own train, and threatened Rome.^a They spared neither age nor sex; the pope was deeply afflicted by the sight of miserable wretches who crowded into the city from the Apulian side, having lost eyes or noses, hands or feet, by the barbarity of the Normans; while reports continually reached him of monasteries sacked or burnt, and their inmates slain or cruelly outraged.^b His grief and indignation overflowed, and, finding remonstrances, entreaties, and denunciations vain, he endeavoured to engage both the Greek and the German emperors in a league against the Normans.^c

The pope found that, by allying himself with the Italian party, he had excited the jealousy of his own countrymen.^d A significant proof of this appeared at Worms, where he spent the Christmas of 1052 with the emperor. On Christmas-day, as Luitpold, archbishop of Mentz, and metropolitan of the diocese, was officiating at mass in the cathedral, a deacon chanted a lesson in the German fashion, which was different from that of Rome.^e Leo, urged by the Italians of his train, commanded him to stop; and, as the order was unheeded, he called the deacon to him at the end of the lesson, and degraded him from his office. The German primate begged that he might be restored, but met with a refusal. The service proceeded to the end of the offertory, when Luitpold, indignant at the slight offered to the national usage, declared that it should go no further unless the deacon were restored; and the pope found himself obliged to yield.^f

A feeling of jealousy against Rome would seem also to have dictated the answer to a request which the pope made for the restoration of the bishoprick of Bamberg, and of the abbey of Fulda, to St. Peter, on whom they had been bestowed by Henry II.^g Instead of these benefices, which might have given

^a Gibbon, v. 331-2; Schröckh, xxi. 346.

^b Bowden, i. 159.

^c Ep. 7, ad Constant. Monomach. Hard. vi. 959.

^d Milman, iii. 31-2.

^e It seems as if the Roman fashion were to read it.

^f Ekkehard, A.D. 1073 (Pertz, vi.).

"Qua in re," says the chronicler, "et pontificis [i. e. archi-episcopi] auctoritas et apostolici considerata est humilitas, dum et ille officii sui dignitatem defendere contendebat, et iste, licet majoris dignitatis, metropolitano tamen in sua diocesi cedendum perpendebat."

^g See p. 410.

a pretext for interfering with his German sovereignty, the emperor conferred on the pope the city of Beneventum, the adjoining territory having already been granted to the Normans.^b

The success of Leo's application for aid against the Normans was frustrated by the emperor's chancellor, Gebhard, bishop of Eichstedt. Whether from apprehension of danger on the side of Hungary,ⁱ from overweening contempt of the Normans,^k or from German jealousy of the papacy, he persuaded Henry to recall the troops which he had already placed at the pope's disposal; and Leo on his return to Italy was followed by only seven hundred men, chiefly Swabians and Lotharingians, but including many lawless and desperate exiles and adventurers.^m It was the first time that a pope had appeared as the leader of an army against a professedly Christian people. Although Leo, when a deacon, had led the contingent of Toul in the imperial force,ⁿ his own synods had renewed the canons against warrior bishops and clergy,^o and Peter Damiani was scandalised at the indecency of the spectacle;—Would St. Gregory, he asked, have gone to battle against the Lombards, or St. Ambrose against the Arians?^p But as Leo moved along, multitudes of Italians flocked to his standard, so that, when the armies met near Civitella, he had greatly the advantage in numbers, while his sturdy Germans derided the inferior height and slighter forms of the enemy. The Normans attempted to negotiate, and offered to hold their conquests under the apostolic see; but they were told that the only admissible terms were their withdrawal from Italy and a surrender of all that they had taken from St. Peter.^q No choice was thus left them but to fight with the courage of despair.^r The armies engaged on the 18th of June, 1053; the pope's Italian troops ran away; his Germans stood firm, and were cut to pieces; he himself fled to Civitella, but the gates of the town were shut against him, and he fell into the hands of the Normans.^s But defeat was more profitable to the papacy than victory could have been. The victors—some, probably from rude

^b Herm. Contr. 1053; Giannone, ii. 215-6. It was not until 1077 that the popes got actual possession of Beneventum, on the death of the last Lombard prince, ib. l. x. 4.

ⁱ Luden, viii. 277.

^k Hæder, ii. 156.

^m Herm. Contr. 1053; Gibbon, v. 333.

ⁿ Wibert, i. 7, p. 56.

^o E. g. Conc. Rem. A.D. 1049, c. 6.

^p Baronius, 1053. 13. Baronius tries

to refute him; others, to explain the words away. See Schröckh, xxi. 530.

^q Guil. Appul. ii. 95-108.

^r Ib. 137, seqq.

^s The accounts of this vary in some respects. See Herm. Contr. 1053; Malaterra, i. 14, ap. Muratori, v.; Gibbon, v. 333; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 179; Hülfer, ii. 175; Jaffé, 377. Bemo says that Hildebrand, in league with Benedict IX., betrayed Leo to the enemy! Goldast, 14.

awe, and others from policy^t—fell at the captive's feet; they wept, they cast dust on their heads, they poured forth expressions of penitence, and entreated his forgiveness and blessing.^u An accommodation was concluded, by which Leo granted them the conquests which they had already made, with all that they could gain in Calabria and Sicily, to be held under the holy see. Thus the Normans, who had hitherto been regarded as a horde of freebooters, obtained the appearance of a legal, and even a sanctified, title to their possessions; while the pope, in bestowing on them territories to which the Roman see had never had any right, (except by Constantine's fabulous donation,) led the way to the establishment of an alliance which was of vast importance to his successors, and of a claim to suzerainty over the kingdom of Naples which has lasted down to our own times.^x

Leo was carried to Beneventum, where he was detained in a sort of honourable captivity. His hours were spent in mournful thoughts of the past and of the future. He engaged in the strictest practices of asceticism and devotion; he performed mass daily for the souls of the soldiers who had fallen on his side, and at length he was comforted by a vision which assured him that, as having been slain for the Lord, they were partakers in the glory of martyrs.^y At the end of nine months, feeling himself seriously ill, he obtained leave to return to Rome. He caused his couch to be spread in St. Peter's, and his tomb to be placed near it. He exhorted his clergy to be watchful in their duty, and to exert themselves against simony; he commended his flock to Christ, and prayed that, if he had been too severe in dealing the censures of the church on any, the Saviour would of His mercy absolve them. Then, looking at his tomb, he said with tears, "Behold, brethren, how worthless and fleeting is human glory. I have seen the cell in which I dwelt as a monk changed into spacious palaces; now I must again return to the narrow bounds of this tomb." Next morning he died before the altar of St. Peter's.^z Tales of visions and miracles were circulated in attestation of his sanctity, and the doubts which some expressed on account of the part which he had taken in war were overpowered by the general veneration for his memory;^a

^t Milman, iii. 30.

^u Guil. Appul. ii. 261; Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 470.

^x Giannone, ii. 220; Sismondi, R. I. i. 179.

^y Wibert, ii. 11-2; Annal. Rom. ap.

Pertz, v. 470; Anon. Hasserensis, ib. vii. 265.

^z De Obitu S. Leonis, Mabill. ix. 78-80.

^a Ibid, Victor. III. Dial. iii. (Bib. Patr. xviii. 854); Bonizo, 804; Neander, vi. 57.

During the last days of Leo IX., important communications were in progress between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. From the time of Photius these churches had regarded each other with coolness, and their intercourse had been scanty. But the eastern emperors were induced by political interest to conciliate the pope, whose hostility might have endangered the remains of their Italian dominion; and about the year 1024 a proposal was made to John XX., on the part of Basil II. and of the Byzantine patriarch, that the title of *Universal* should be allowed to the patriarch within his own sphere, and to the bishop of Rome throughout the whole church.^b The gifts with which the bearers of this proposal were charged made an impression on the notorious cupidity of the Romans. The pope was on the point of yielding,^c but the rumour of the affair produced a great excitement in Italy and France. William, abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, an influential ecclesiastic of Italian birth,^d addressed a very strong remonstrance to the pope. Although, he said, the ancient temporal monarchy of Rome is now broken up into many governments, the spiritual privilege conferred on St. Peter is inalienable; and after some severe language, he ends by exhorting John to be more careful of his own duties in the government and discipline of the church. The pope yielded to the general feeling, and the negotiation came to nothing.^e

In 1053, Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Leo, archbishop of Achrida and metropolitan of Bulgaria—alarmed, it would seem, at the progress of the Norman arms, which seemed likely to transfer southern Italy from the Greek to the Latin church,^f—addressed a letter to the bishop of Trani in Apulia, warning him against the errors of the Latins.^g The point of difference on which they most insisted was the nature of the eucharistic bread. It would appear that although our Lord, at the institution of the sacrament, used unleavened bread, as being the only bread which the Mosaic law allowed at the paschal season, the apostles and the early church made use of common bread. Such had continued to be the custom of the Greek church, nor

^b Rad. Glab. iv. 1, whose language appears to be tinged by his prejudices as a Latin. Hugh of Flavigny speaks as if an equality were proposed—"ut sua ecclesia, sicut et Romana, universalis diceretur." Pertz, viii. 392.

^c Baronius, 1024. 4, remarks, that, as he had bought the pontificate, so he was ready to sell himself.

^d See Radulph. Glab. iii. 5; a life of William by him in Mabillon, viii., and Hist. Litt. vii. 318, 392.

^e Rad. Glab. iv. 1; Hugo Flav. ap. Pertz, viii. 392.

^f Gibbon, vi. 5.

^g It exists only in the Latin translation. Baron. 1053. 23-31.

had any difference in this respect been mentioned among the mutual accusations of Photius and his Latin opponents. But, whether before or after the days of Photius, the use of unleavened bread had become established in the west,^h and Michael inveighed against it, as figurative of Judaism and unfit to represent the Saviour's death. The Greek word by which bread is spoken of in the Gospels (*ἄζυρος*) signifies, he said, something *raised*; it ought to have salt, for "ye are the salt of the earth;" it ought to have leaven, for the kingdom of heaven is in the parable likened to leaven, which a woman—the church—hid in three measures of meal, a symbol of the Divine Trinity! The other charges advanced against the western church were the practice of fasting on the Saturdays of Lent, the eating of things strangled and of blood, and the singing of the great Hallelujah at Easter only. The patriarch and his associate concluded by requesting that the bishop of Trani would circulate the letter among the western bishops and clergy.

Humbert, cardinal-bishop of Sylva Candida, one of the most zealous among the Roman clergy, who happened to be at Trani when this letter arrived, translated it and communicated it to Leo;ⁱ who was also soon after informed that Cerularius had shut up the Latin churches and had seized on the Latin monasteries at Constantinople. On this the pope addressed from Beneventum a letter of remonstrance to the patriarch.^k He enlarges on the prerogatives conveyed by St. Peter to the Roman see;^m he cites the donation of Constantine, almost at full length.ⁿ St. Paul, he says, had cast no imputation on the faith of the Romans, whereas in his epistles to Greeks he had blamed them for errors in faith as well as in practice. It was from the Greeks that heresies had arisen; some of the patriarch's own predecessors had been not only patrons of heresy but heresiarchs; but by virtue of the Saviour's own promise the faith of St. Peter cannot fail.^o He blames Michael for having shut up the Latin churches of his city, whereas at Rome the Greeks were allowed the free exercise of their national rites.^p

After some further communications, Leo in January 1054 despatched three legates to Constantinople—Humbert, Frederick of Lorraine, chancellor of the Roman church, and Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, with a letter to the emperor, Constantine Monomachus, in which the pope entreated him to join in an alliance against the

^h See Schröckh, xxiv. 234; Gieseler, II. i. 384.

ⁱ Wibert, ii. 9.

^k Ep. 1, Hard. vi. 927-948.

^m C. 4.

ⁿ Cc. 13-4.

^o Cc. 8-10, 21, 31-2. ^p C. 29.

Normans,^q and one to Cerularius, in answer to a letter which the patriarch had addressed to Leo. The tone of this answer is moderate; but the pope defends the Latin usages which had been attacked; he adverts to a report that the patriarch had been irregularly raised to his dignity; he censures him for attempting to subjugate the ancient thrones of Alexandria and Antioch; and he expresses disapprobation of the title "Universal." It had, he said, been denied to the bishops of Rome by the council of Chalcedon; but as St. Peter did not receive it, so his successors, to whom, if to any man, it would have been suitable, had never assumed it.^r

On arriving at Constantinople, the legates were received with honour by the emperor, who was anxious to secure the pope's interest, and had been annoyed at the indiscretion of his patriarch. Humbert put forth a dialogue between a champion of the Byzantine and one of the Roman church, in which the Greek retells the topics of the letter to the bishop of Trani, while the Latin refutes him point by point, and retorts by some charges against the Greek church.^s To this a Studite monk, Nicetas Pectoratus, replied in temperate language, and, in addition to the other points, he discussed the enforced celibacy of the western clergy.^t Humbert rejoined in a style of violent and insolent abuse,^u and ended by anathematising Nicetas with all his partisans. But he did not leave the victory to be decided by the pen; the emperor with the legates went to the monastery of Studium, where Nicetas was compelled to anathematise his own book, together with all who should deny the prerogatives or impugn the faith of the Roman church. At the request of the legates, Constantine ordered the book to be burnt; and next day the unfortunate author, of his own accord (as we are asked to believe) waited on the legates, retracted his errors, and repeated his anathema against all that had been said, done, or attempted against the Roman church. Humbert's answers to the patriarch and to Nicetas were translated into Greek by the emperor's order.^x

Michael, however, continued to keep aloof from the legates, declaring that he could not settle such questions without the other patriarchs. The legates at length, finding that they could make no impression on him, entered the church of St. Sophia on the

^q Ep. vii.^r Ep. vi.

Nuptiis Sacerdotum," ib. 405-9.

^s "Adversus Græcorum Calumnias."^u Ib. 409-415.

Bibl. Patr. xviii. 391.

^t "De Azyino, de Sabbato, et de^x Commemoratio Brevis. Hard. vi.

967-8.

16th of July, and laid on the altar, which had been prepared for the celebration of the Eucharist, a document in which, after acknowledging the orthodoxy of the people of Constantinople in general, they charge the patriarch and his party with likeness to the most infamous heresies, and solemnly anathematise them with all heretics, "Yea, with the devil and his angels, unless they repent."^y Having left the church, they shook off the dust from their feet, exclaiming "Let God see and judge;" and, after charging the Latins of Constantinople to avoid the communion of such as should "deny the Latin sacrifice," they set out on their return, with rich presents from the emperor.^z

A message from Constantinople recalled them, as Michael had professed a wish to confer with them. But it is said that the patriarch intended to excite the multitude against them, and probably to bring about some fatal result, by reading in the cathedral a falsified version of the excommunication.^a Of this they were warned by the emperor, who refused to allow any conference except in his own presence; and, as Michael would not assent, the legates again departed. The further proceedings between the emperor and the patriarch are variously related by the Greeks and by the Latins. The points of controversy were discussed for some time between Michael, Dominic patriarch of Grado on the Latin side, and Peter patriarch of Antioch, who attempted to act as a mediator.^b A legation was also sent to Constantinople by Stephen IX. (who had been one of Leo's legates), but it returned on hearing of his death, and the breach between the churches has never been healed.^c Cerularius himself was deposed by the emperor Isaac Comnenus, in 1059, and ended his days in exile.^d

On the death of Leo, which took place soon after the departure of his legates for the east, the clergy and people of Rome were desirous to bestow the see on Hildebrand, to whose care the

^y Com. Br. 969.

^z Ib. 968.

^a This is Humbert's account, *ibid.* See Schröckh, xxiv. 225.

^b These letters may be found in vol. ii. of Cotelierus, *Monumenta Eccl. Græcæ*, p. 108, seqq. See too Leo to Peter of Antioch, in *Hard.* vi. 952. Among other things, Peter discusses the title of patriarch, which he is willing to allow, in some sense, to the bishop of Grado. But, he says, as there are five senses, so there are properly but five patriarchs, and among these the title of

patriarch is especially given to the bishop of Antioch alone—those of Rome and Alexandria being styled *pope*; those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, *archbishop* (pp. 113-6). In defending the Latins against the charge of eating unclean things, the venerable man gives a hint as to his own tastes—*ὁὐκ ἐστὶν ἡδὺ, τιμωτάτῃ διαστοῇ, βύρρος χοίρειον καὶ ὄψα καὶ ἄλλα ποδῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ φακὴ καὶ κύμιλος ἐν σπλάτι χοίρειον ἐβόμην*, κ. τ. λ. p. 152.

^c Schröckh, xxiv. 231-4.

^d Pagé, xvii. 145.

dying pope had solemnly committed his church.^c But Hildebrand was not yet ready to undertake the administration in his own name, and was unwilling to forego the advantage of the emperor's support. He therefore persuaded the Romans to entrust him with a mission for the purpose of requesting that, as no one among themselves was worthy, Henry would appoint a pope acceptable to them; and he suggested Gebhard, bishop of Eichstedt, the same by whom the emperor had been induced to withdraw his troops from Leo's expedition against the Normans. The policy of this choice would seem to have been profound; Gebhard, as Nov. 1054. an imperial counsellor, was likely to use his influence against the papacy, but as pope, he could hardly fail to be guided by the interests of his see. Henry, unwilling to lose him, suggested other names; but Hildebrand persisted, and the emperor felt himself obliged to yield to the choice of a prelate who had long held the highest place in his own esteem. Gebhard himself made earnest attempts to escape the dignity which was thrust upon him, and is said to have shown his resentment of Hildebrand's share in his promotion by a general dislike of monks during the remainder of his life. But he justified the expectation that his policy would change with his position. As a condition of accepting the papacy, he required of the emperor a promise to restore all the rights of St. Peter; and we are told that, whenever he found himself crossed in any of his undertakings, he regarded it as a just punishment for his undutiful opposition to Leo.^f

In April 1055 the new pope arrived at Rome, where Hildebrand took care that, like his predecessor, he should be formally elected by the clergy and people; and he assumed the name of Victor II.^g In principle his papacy was a continuation of that which preceded it. The system of reforming synods was kept up, but, instead of being conducted by the pope in person, they were left to his legates. At one of these synods held in Gaul by Hildebrand, in 1055, a remarkable incident is said to have taken place. An archbishop who was charged with simony had bribed the witnesses to silence, and boldly demanded "Where are my accusers?" The legate asked him whether he believed the Holy Ghost to be of the same substance with the Father and the Son, and, on his answering that he believed so, desired him to say the doxology. On coming to the name of that Divine Person in whose gifts he had trafficked, the archbishop was unable to proceed. After repeated attempts,

^c Bonizo, 804.

(Pertz, vii.); Anon. Hasserens. 34 (ib.).

^f Bonizo, 804; Chron. Casin. ii. 86^g Bonizo, 804.

he fell down before Hildebrand acknowledging his guilt, and forthwith he recovered the power of pronouncing the whole term. Such a scene would perhaps be now experienced by the assembly of a powerful will and of a prophetic manner over a weaker mind disturbed by the consciousness of guilt. But it was then held to be a miracle, and the terror of it led many other bishops and abbots to confess their simony and to resign their dignities.

In 1050, Victor was invited by the emperor to Germany, where he was received with great honour. But soon after his arrival an illness from which Henry had been suffering became more serious; and on the 5th of October the emperor died in his forty-first year, at the hunting-seat of Bothfeld in the Harz.^a To the pope, from whom he received the best consolations of religion, he bequeathed the care of his only son, Henry, a child under six years of age;^b and, although this prince had already been crowned as his father's colleague and successor in the German kingdom, the good offices of Victor were serviceable in procuring a peaceful recognition of his rights from the princes, prelates, and nobles who had been gathered around the emperor's deathbed.^c The virtual government of the empire seemed to be now united in the same hands with the papacy. But the union was soon dissolved by the death of Victor, who, after having returned to Italy and presided over a council at Florence, expired at Averra on the 24th of July, 1057.^d

The Romans felt themselves delivered from restraint by the death of Henry, and now proceeded to show their feeling by not only choosing a pope for themselves, but fixing on a person who was likely to be obnoxious to the German court — Frederick, the brother of Duke Godfrey of Lorraine. Godfrey, after his submission to Henry III., had gone into Italy, and in 1052 had obtained the hand of the emperor's cousin Beatrice, sister of Basilissa, countess of Tuscany, and mother of the greatest heiress of the age, the countess Matilda. This connection appeared so alarming to Henry that it led him to cross the Alps in 1055. Beatrice waited on him in order to assure him that her husband had no other wish than to

^a There is much variation in the accounts as to the place, the person, and the delinquent, and other circumstances. See Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 856); P. Damiani, Opusc. xix. c. 4; *Itinér.*, 200; Paul Hain, Vit. Greg. VII. c. 17; W. Michael, i. 344; Card. Aragon. ap. Muratori, iii. 300; Hard. vi. 1040.

^b In the *Annales Romani* (Pertz, v.

470, it is said that he went to ask for and obtain the "Apollonius" (Gereonis).

^c Lambert, Ann. 1056.

^d He was born Mar. 11, 1050. Steudel, i. 153.

^e *Itinér. Græc.* Ann. 1054, p. 100.

^f Lambert, Ann. 1054; Steudel, i. 264.

^g Jaffé

live peaceably on the territory which he had acquired by marriage ; but the emperor distrusted his old antagonist, and carried off both Beatrice and Matilda as hostages to Germany, where they were detained until Godfrey waited on him in Franconia, and solemnly promised fidelity.^a

While Godfrey thus raised himself by marriage from the condition of a discredited adventurer to a position of great power, wealth, and influence, his brother was ascending the steps of ecclesiastical promotion. Frederick, a canon of Liege, had accompanied Leo IX. to Rome, after the reconciliation of Godfrey with Henry in 1049, and had been appointed chancellor of the holy see. He was a leader in the expedition against the Normans,^b and was one of the legates who excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople. The rumour of the wealth which he had brought back from his eastern mission excited the suspicions of Henry ; and Frederick, feeling himself in danger from the emperor, became a monk at Monte Cassino.^c The society of Monte Cassino claimed the right of electing its abbot, who was to receive the papal benediction, and on a vacancy which occurred during the pontificate of Victor, the monks chose a successor named Peter. The pope, however, was inclined to question their privileges, and sent Cardinal Humbert to inquire on the spot whether any defect could be found in the election. Four monks, supposing that the cardinal came to depose their abbot, raised the neighbouring peasantry to arms ; and Peter felt that their unwise zeal had fatally injured his cause. He told them that it was they who had deposed him from a dignity of which he could not otherwise have been deprived ; he resigned^d the abbacy, and the monks, under Humbert's presidency, elected Frederick in his room.^e At the council of Florence Frederick was confirmed in his abbacy by Victor, who also created him cardinal of St. Chrysogonus ; and he was at Rome, engaged in taking possession of the cure annexed to that title, when he was informed of the pope's death.^f The Romans, dreading the interference of the neighbouring nobles, took on themselves the choice of a pope, and, in answer to their request that he would name some suitable candidates, Frederick proposed Humbert, three other bishops, and the subdeacon Hildebrand ; but the Romans insisted that he should himself be pope, and on August 2, 1057, he was

^a Lambert, Ann. 1053, 1055 ; Floto, Ann. 1054.

i. 181.

^b Chron. Casin. ii. 91-2.

^c Milman, iii. 35.

^d Ib. 93-4.

^e Chron. Casin. ii. 86 ; Lambert,

hailed as Stephen IX., taking his name from the saint to whom the day was dedicated, Stephen the antagonist of St. Cyprian.^x

Stephen was a churchman of the stern and haughty monastic school. His behaviour at Constantinople is significant of his character, and the acts of his short pontificate were consistent with it. Synods were held which passed fresh canons against the marriage of the clergy. Hildebrand's influence continued unabated; it was probably by Stephen that he was ordained deacon, and was appointed archdeacon of Rome.^y And by Hildebrand's recommendation^z Peter Damian was raised to the bishoprick of Ostia, the second dignity in the Roman church—his distaste for such preferment having been overpowered by a threat of excommunication in case of his refusal.^a

In addition to the interests of his see, it is supposed that Stephen was intent on advancing those of his own family—that he meditated the expulsion of the Normans from Italy, and the elevation of Godfrey to the imperial dignity. He had retained the abbacy of Monte Cassino, and, with a view to the prosecution of his designs, he ordered that all the treasures of the monastery should be sent to Rome. But when they were displayed before him, and he saw the grief of the provost and other monks who had executed his order, a feeling of compunction seized him; and the provost, observing his emotion, told him that a novice, who knew nothing of the intended transfer, had seen a vision of St. Scholastica weeping over the loss of the treasures, while her brother St. Benedict endeavoured to comfort her. The pope burst into tears, and ordered that the treasures should be restored.^b

Within a few months after his election, Stephen felt that his health was failing, and resolved to provide for the future disposal of his offices. At Monte Cassino, where he spent the Christmas season, he procured the election of Desiderius as his successor in the abbacy;^c and on his return to Rome, he exacted an oath that no pope should be chosen without the advice of Hildebrand, who was then engaged in a mission to Germany, probably with a view of conciliating the empress-mother, to whom Stephen must have felt that neither he himself nor the manner of his election could be acceptable.^d From Rome he went to Florence, the capital of his

^x Chron. Casin. ii. 94; Höfler, ii. 270.

^a Vita P. Dam. 14.

^y So Bonizo says (804); Paul of Bernried refers the preferment to Leo (15); others, to Nicolas. See Bowden, i. 188.

^b Chron. Casin. ii. 97; Giamone, ii. 225.

^c Chron. Casin. ii. 94-6.

^d Ib. ii. 98; P. Dam. Ep. iii. 4; Voigt, 39.

^z P. Dam. Ep. ii. 8.

brother's dominions; and there he died in the arms of Gualbert of Vallombrosa, on the 29th of March 1058.^e

Immediately on receiving the tidings of Stephen's death, the nobles of the Campagna, headed by Count Gregory of Tusculum, rushed into Rome, seized on St. Peter's by April 5. night, plundered the treasures of the church, and set up as pope John bishop of Velletri, a member of the Crescentian family, under the name of Benedict X.^f That John's part in this affair was forced on him, appears even from a letter of Peter Damiani, who speaks of him as so stupid, ignorant, and slothful, that he could not be supposed to have planned his own elevation.^g But his reluctance may be more creditably explained. His moral character is unassailed; he was one of the five ecclesiastics whom Stephen IX., before his own promotion, had named to the Romans, as worthy of the papacy;^h and the charges of ignorance and dullness which are brought against him by the almost blind enmity of Damiani may be the less regarded, since the pope of Peter's own party is described by Berengar of Tours as grossly illiterate.ⁱ

The chiefs of the Roman clergy refused to share in the election of Benedict. Damiani would not perform the ceremonies of installation, which belonged to his office as bishop of Ostia; and the pope was installed by a priest of that diocese, who was compelled by force to officiate, and whom Peter describes as unable even to read without difficulty.^k The cardinals withdrew from the city, threatening to anathematise the intruder, and envoys were sent by a party at Rome to the empress-mother, with a request that she would nominate a pope.^m Hildebrand, in returning from Germany, met these envoys, and suggested to them the name of Gerard, bishop of Florence, a Burgundian by birth, who at their desire was nominated by the empress, while Hildebrand, in order that this nomination might not interfere with the claims which were now advanced in behalf of the Roman church, contrived that he should almost at the same time be elected by the cardinals at Sienna.ⁿ The pope, who took the name of Nicolas II., advanced towards Rome under the escort of Godfrey of Tuscany, whose

^e Höfler, ii. 285. The *Annales Romani* (Pertz, v. 470) improbably state that he went to Florence in order to complain to Godfrey against the Romans, who had seized his Byzantine treasures.

^f Chron. Casin. ii. 99.

^g Ep. iii. 4 (which Cajetan wrongly refers to the next antipope, Cadalous).

Comp. Chron. Casin. ii. 99; *Annal. Rom.* 470.

^h *Annal. Rom.* 470.

ⁱ See below, c. III.

^k Ep. iii. 4.

^m Lambert, Ann. 1059.

ⁿ Paul Bernried. Vita Gregor. 21;

Höfler, i. 292.

interest had doubtless been consulted in choosing the bishop of his capital as the successor of his brother in the papacy. At Sutri Nicolas held a council, which condemned and excommunicated Benedict as an intruder. The antipope fled from Rome, Jan. 1059.

but, after the arrival of Nicolas in the city, he returned, and submitted to him, saying that he had acted under compulsion; whereupon he was readmitted to communion, but was deprived of the episcopate and the priesthood.^o

In April 1059 Nicolas held a council in Rome, which was attended by a hundred and thirteen bishops.^p The proceedings of this assembly in the case of Berengar will be related hereafter. It was enacted that no married or concubinary priest should celebrate mass, and that the laity should not attend the mass of such a priest;^q that no clerk should take preferment from a layman, whether for money or gratuitously;^r that no layman should judge a clerk, of whatever order.^s But the most important work of the council was the establishment of a new procedure for the election of a pope.

The ancient manner of appointing bishops, by the choice of the clergy and people, had been retained at Rome, subject to the imperial control; but the result had not been satisfactory. The nobles and the people were able to overpower the voice of the clergy; to them were to be traced the ignominies and the distractions which had so long prevailed in the Roman church—the disputed elections, the schisms between rival popes, the promotion of scandalously unfit men to the highest office in the hierarchy. It was therefore an object of the reforming party to destroy the aristocratic and popular influence which had produced such evils. Independence of the imperial control, which had of late become an absolute power of nomination, was also desired; but the imperial interest was ably represented by Guibert, the chancellor of Italy, and the Hildebrandine party were for the present obliged to be content with a compromise.^t It was enacted that the cardinal bishops should first treat of the election; that they should then call in the cardinals of inferior rank, and that afterwards the rest of the clergy and the people should give their assent to the choice. The election was to be made “saving the due honour and reverence of our beloved son Henry, who at present is accounted king, and

^o Bonizo, p. 806; Chron. Casin. iii. 12; Voigt, 42; Milman, ii. 47.

^p Hard. vi. 1061, seqq.

^q Can. 3.

^r Can. 6.

^s Can. 10.

^t Planck, iv. 72-5; Gieseler, II. i. 238; Stenzel, i. 200; Bowden, i. 199.

hereafter will, it is hoped, if God permit, be emperor, as we have already granted to him; and of his successors who shall personally have obtained this privilege from the apostolic see."^u

By this enactment the choice of pope was substantially vested in the cardinals. The term *cardinal*, which first occurs in the writings of pope Gelasius I. (A.D. 492-6), had from the sixth century been used in the Western Church, to signify one who had full and permanent possession of a benefice, as distinguished from deputies, assistants, temporary holders, or persons limited in the exercise of any rights belonging to the incumbency.^x But at Rome it had latterly come to bear a new meaning. The cardinal bishops were the seven bishops of the pope's immediate province, who assisted him in his public functions—the bishop of Ostia being the chief among them;^y the cardinal priests were the incumbents of the twenty-eight chief parish-churches in the city.^z By the constitution of Nicolas, the initiative in the election was given to the cardinal bishops. The other cardinals, however, were to be afterwards consulted, and a degree of influence was allowed to them; while the part of the remaining clergy and of the laity was reduced to a mere acceptance of the person whom the cardinals should nominate.^a The imperial prerogative is spoken of in words of intentional vagueness, which, without openly contesting it, reserve to the pope the power of limiting or practically annihilating it, as circumstances might allow; and, whatever it might be, it is represented not as inherent in the office of emperor, but as a grant from the pope, bestowed on Henry out of special favour, and to be personally sought by his successors.^b The time for venturing on this important innovation was well chosen: for there was no emperor, and the prince for whom the empire was designed was a child under female guardianship, the sovereign of an unruly and distracted kingdom.^c

^u Hard. vi. 1065-6. On the variation of copies, see Schmidt, ii. 470; Schröckh, xxi. 364-6; Gieseler, II. i. 238-9; Luden, viii. 264.

^x Thomassin, I. ii. 115, 1; Schröckh, xxi. 366-7; Gieseler, II. i. 235.

^y In the tenth century they were styled *Romani* bishops. Thomassin, I. ii. 116. 6. The history of the cardinalate is still obscure. Planck, iv. 76.

^z Schröckh, xxi. 367-9. Leo IX. says that the Roman cardinals were so styled because "*Cardini illi, quo cætera moventur, viciniis adherentes.*" Ep. i. ad Mich. Cæpularium. c. 32. Hard. vi. 944.

^a There were as yet no cardinals below the order of priest, but afterwards, on the complaint of the deacons and lower clergy that they were excluded, some of each class were added to the body. The steps are obscure, but it is supposed that the college of cardinals was finally arranged by Alexander III. See Mosheim, ii. 331-4.

^b Luden (viii. 666-670) tries to show that the decree, as it stands, would have made no change; and therefore, that as a change was made, the present form is interpolated.

^c Planck, iv. 79.

In the same year Nicolas proceeded into Southern Italy, and June, held a council at Melfi, with a view to extirpating the 1059.

Greek usages and habits which prevailed among the clergy of that region—especially the liberty of marriage.^d But a more important object of his expedition was the settlement of his relations with the Normans. The leader of these was now Robert, styled Guiscard—the *Wise*, or rather the *Crafty*^e—the eldest son by the second marriage of Tancred, a banneret or valvassor of Hauteville in Normandy. The three sons of Tancred's first marriage had in 1035 joined their countrymen in Italy, and had been gradually followed by Robert and six of his younger brethren. These adventurers rose to command among the Normans of the South, and formed the design of expelling the Greeks from their remaining territories in Italy.^f The eldest and the second brothers died without issue; on the death of the third, Humphrey, in 1057, Robert set aside the rights of his nephews, was raised aloft on a buckler, and was acknowledged as chief. Under this leader, distinguished for his lofty stature, his strength and prowess, his ambition, his rapacity, his profound and unscrupulous cunning, the Normans carried on a course of incessant and successful aggression on every side. Their numbers were swelled by large bands from Normandy, while the more spirited among the natives of Apulia and Calabria assumed their name and habits and were enrolled in their armies.^g

The Normans had not spared the property of St. Peter. Nicolas had excommunicated Guiscard for refusing to give up the city of Troia, which he had taken from the Greeks, and to which the Roman Church laid claim;^h but mutual convenience now brought the warrior and the pontiff together. Instead of the schemes which his predecessors had formed for expelling the Normans from Italy, Nicolas conceived the idea of securing them to his alliance.

On receiving an application from Guiscard for the withdrawal of his excommunication, he proposed that a conference should take place at the intended synod of Melfi; and a treaty was the result. The pope bestowed on Guiscard the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and such territories in Italy or Sicily as he might in future wrest from the Greeks or the Saracens; and he

^d Guil. Appul. ii. 390; Giannone, ii. 66-2, 236; Theiner, ii. 51.

^e Gibbon, v. 336.

^f "Quia calliditatis
Non tante Clero fuit, aut versutus Ulixes."
Guil. Appul. i. 129-30.

^g Gaufrid. Malaterra, i. 4, 5, 11, ap. Muratori, v.; Giannone, ii. 185; Gibbon, v. 555.

^h Gibbon, v. 336-7.

ⁱ Giannone, ii. 234.

conferred on him or confirmed to him the title of duke.ⁱ At the same time Richard of Aversa, the representative of the earlier Norman immigration, received the title of Prince of Capua, a city which he had lately taken from the Lombards.^k

In return for this, "Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and, with the help of both, hereafter to be of Sicily," swore to hold his territories as a fief of the Roman see, and to pay an annual quit-rent. He was never to give them up to any of the ultramontanes. He was to be faithful to the holy Roman Church and to his lord the pope; he was to defend him in all things, and to aid him against all men towards establishing the rights of his see. He was to maintain the pope's territories, to subject all the churches within his own dominions to Rome, and, in case of his surviving Nicolas, he was to see that his successor should be legitimately chosen.^m For both parties this treaty was an important gain. The Normans acquired, far more than by the earlier treaty with Leo IX., an appearance of legitimacy—a religious sanction for their past and their future conquests. The pope converted them from dangerous neighbours into powerful allies, obtained from them an acknowledgment of his suzerainty,ⁿ and especially bound them to maintain his late ordinances as to the election of future popes. In fulfilment of their new engagements, the Normans advanced towards Rome, reduced the castles of the nobility of the Campagna,^o and, having thus established the pope in security, they resumed the career of conquest which had been authorised by his sanction.^p The acquisition of Sicily, however, which Guiscard had claimed by anticipation, was reserved for another member of his family. While the elder sons of Tancred of Hauteville were pursuing their fortunes in Italy, Roger, the youngest, had remained to watch over his father's old age; and when at length released from this duty, he followed his brethren to the south.^q Here he soon gave proofs of his valour and daring; but he was unkindly treated by Guiscard, and, being left to his own resources, was reduced for a time to find a subsistence by robbing travellers and stealing horses—a fact which

ⁱ As to the grant or assumption of this title, see Chron. Cassin. iii. 15-6; Guil. Appul. ii. 401; Giannone, ii. 227, 238; Gibbon, v. 337; Schröckh, xxi. 373; Sismondi, R. I. i. 181.

^k Chron. Cassin. iii. 15; Giannone, ii. 229.

^m The oaths are given by Baron. 1059. 70-1, and by Gieseler, II. i. 239.

ⁿ See Planck, iv. 66-7.

^o Bonizo, 806. In the *Annales Romani* (471) is a remarkable story as to the treatment of the antipope Benedict or John of Velletri, who had sought a refuge in the castle of Galeria. See Milman, iii. 48. Jaffé, although doubtfully, places the siege of Galeria in March—before the Roman council.

^p Giannone, ii. 237.

^q Malaterra, i. 19.

was afterwards preserved by the historian of his exploits at Roger's own desire.^r The brave and adventurous youth gathered by degrees a band of followers, which became so strong as even to be formidable to Guiscard. The brothers were reconciled in 1060, and combined for the siege of Reggio.^s After the taking of that city Roger carried his arms into Sicily under a banner blessed by Alexander II.^t His force at first consisted of only sixty soldiers; its usual number was from 150 to 300 horsemen, who joined or left him at their pleasure. Roger was often reduced to great distress; when shut up in the city of Traina, he and his countess had but one cloak between them, which they wore by turns.^u But his indomitable courage and perseverance triumphed over all difficulties. The Saracens, effeminated by their long enjoyment of Sicily, and weakened by the division of their power, were unable to withstand him, even although aided by their brethren from Africa; and after thirty years of war, Roger was master of the island. He assumed the title of Great Count, and his family became connected by marriage with the royal houses of Germany, France, and Hungary.^x

Immediately on gaining possession of the papacy, Nicolas found his attention drawn to the affairs of Milan. The Milanese church had long held a very lofty position, and it had gained in reputation by the contrast which it presented to the degraded state of the papacy. The archbishop was a great secular prince, and in the absence of the emperor was the most important person in northern Italy. Heribert had long ruled the church with great vigour; he had maintained his title to the archbishoprick in defiance of Conrad II. and of Benedict IX., and had held it in peace after the accession of Henry III., until 1045, when he died, leaving the reputation of a saint among his flock.^y The clergy of Milan bore a high character in all that related to the administration of their office; there was a proverb—"Milan for clerks, Pavia for pleasures, Rome for buildings, Ravenna for churches."^z Their learning was beyond the average of the time; their discipline was strict, their demeanour regular, their services were performed with exemplary decency; they were sedulous in their labours for the education of the young, and in the general discharge of their

^r Malaterra, 25.^s *Ib.* 29.^t *Ib.* ii. 1; Giannone, ii. 245.^u *Ib.* ii. 29.^x *Ib.* ii.; iii. 20, 23, 28; Gibbon, v.

341; Sismondi, i. 182-4.

^y Landulph. senior, Hist. Mediol. ii.

32-3. ap. Pertz, viii.; Milman, ii. 55-60;

Luden, viii. 330.

^z Landulph. iii. 1.

pastoral duties.^a The Milanese church differed from the Roman in allowing the marriage of the clergy under certain conditions. St. Ambrose, the great glory of Milan and the author of its peculiar liturgy, was believed to have sanctioned the single marriage of a priest with a virgin bride;^b and this had become so much the rule that an unmarried clergyman was even regarded with suspicion.^c The same practice was generally observed throughout Lombardy, and the effect of the liberty thus allowed was seen in the superior character of the clergy, which struck even those witnesses who were least able or willing to connect the effect with its cause.^d Thus Peter Damiani acknowledged that he had never seen a body of clergy equal to the Milanese,^e and he also bestows a very high commendation on those of Turin, where marriage was sanctioned by the bishop, Cunibert.^f

On the death of Heribert, who had himself been married, the see of Milan was bestowed by Henry III. on a clerk of humble birth named Guy. The new archbishop appears to have been a man of mean and feeble character; he is described as deficient in learning,^g and he was charged with the practice of habitual simony—a charge which probably meant nothing worse than the exaction of fees from the clergy.^h

The first movement against the marriage of the Milanese clergy was made by Anselm of Badagio,ⁱ a priest who had been proposed for the archbishopric on the death of Heribert.^k On Guy's application to Henry III., Anselm was removed from the scene by promotion to the see of Lucca; but the work which he had begun was soon taken up by others. One of these, Ariald, was a deacon, who is said to have been convicted of some gross offence before the archbishop.^m He held a cure in his native village, near Como,

^a Landulph. ii. 35-6.

^b See the speech of a deacon Ambrose (styled Biffus or Biffarius, because he was master of Greek as well as Latin), in Landulph. iii. 24. The passages cited in proof of this were unquestioned at the time, but the text is now different (e. g. *De Officiis Ministrorum*, i. 247). Puricelli, in a dissertation on the subject (ap. Muratori, iv. 121, seqq.), defends the present reading; Dean Milman decides for the older (iii. 62). Theiner (i. 145; ii. 120) is against the idea of St. Ambrose's having sanctioned marriage.

^c Landulph. ii. 35.

^d Gieselser, II. i. 323-4.

^e Arnulph. Hist. Mediol. iii. 14. ap. Pertz, viii.

^f Ep. ad Cunib. Taurin. in Opusc. xviii. "Contra Clericos intemperantes."

^g Landulph. iii. 2.; Arnulph. iii. 3.

^h Theiner, ii. 55. Bonizo says that Guy was "illiteratus et concubiniatus et absque ulla verecundia simoniacus." L. vi. p. 805. Peter Damiani, in the account of his legation to Milan, speaks of it as a settled custom of the church there that every person ordained to any ministry, from the archbishop downwards "præfixum prius absque ulla controversia canonum daret." C. 33.

ⁱ Now Baggio.

^k Höfler, ii. 277.

^m "De quodam scelere nefandissimo." Landulph. iii. 5.

where he began to denounce the iniquities of clerical marriage. His parishioners told him that it was not for ignorant people like themselves to refute him; that he would do better to transfer his preaching to Milan, where he might meet with persons capable of arguing with him.ⁿ He went accordingly to the city, where his admonitions were unheeded by the clergy, to whom he first
A.D. 1056.

Landulph, a man of noble family, and of a great talent for popular oratory,^o who appears to have been in one of the minor orders of the ministry, and is said to have aspired to the archbishoprick.^p Anselm, on revisiting Milan, is said to have been provoked by the admiration which the clergy of his train expressed for the eloquence of the Milanese;^q he saw in Ariald and Landulph fit instruments for carrying on the movement which he could himself no longer direct; and he bound them by oath to wage an implacable warfare against the marriage of the clergy.^r

The two began publicly to inveigh with great bitterness against the clergy, and their exaggerated representations were received with the greedy credulity which usually waits on the denunciation of abuses. The populace, invited by means of tickets or handbills which were distributed, of little bells which were rung about the streets, and of active female tongues, flocked to the places where the oratory of Landulph and his companion was to be heard,^s and the reformers continually grew bolder and more unmeasured in their language. They told the people that their pastors were Simoniacs and Nicolaitans,^t blind leaders of the blind; their sacrifices were dog's dung; their churches, stalls for cattle; their ministry ought to be rejected, their property might be seized and plundered.^u Such teaching was not without its effect; the mob set on the clergy in the streets, loaded them with abuse, beat them, drove them from their altars, exacted from them a written promise to forsake their wives, and pillaged their houses.

ⁿ Syrus, ap. Pertz, viii. 78.

^o Land. iii. 10.

^p Ib. iii. 5. Bonizo, p. 805, styles him a deacon; others a layman. See Pertz, viii. 19; Höfler, ii. 276. Landulph and his brothers are said to have been the offspring of an unlawful marriage. Land. iii. 14.

^q "Certe," he answered, "nisi faminas haberent, omnes hujus urbis sacerdotes et levitæ, in predicatione et in aliis bonis operibus satis congrue valerent."

^r Land. iii. 5.

^s Land. iii. 9.

^t Humbert is the first who uses this term for the married clergy (Gieseler, II. i. 328). The "Nicolaitan heresy" was held to consist in justifying clerical marriage. "Vitium quippe in hæresin vertitur," says Damiani, "cum perversi dogmatis assertione firmatur" (iii. 32). Sismondi, overlooking the Scriptural allusion (Revel. ii. 15), supposes the term to have been derived from the name of Nicolas II., "peut-être par antiphrase!" (iv. 307).

^u Arnulph. iii. 11.

The clergy were supported by the nobles, and Milan was held in constant disquiet by its hostile factions, while the emissaries of Ariald communicated the excitement to the surrounding country.^x The followers of Ariald and Landulph were known by the name of *Patarines*—a word of disputed etymology and meaning,^y which became significant of parties opposed to the clergy, whether their opposition were in the interest of the papacy^z or of sectarianism.

Guy, by the advice of Stephen IX., cited Ariald and Landulph before a synod. On their scornfully refusing to appear, they were excommunicated, but the pope released them from the sentence. Stephen then summoned them to appear before a Roman synod, where they asserted their cause but were opposed by a cardinal named Dionysius, who had been trained in the church of Milan, and now strongly denounced the violence with which they had proceeded in their attempts at reform. Stephen, although his feeling was on the side of Ariald, affected neutrality between the parties; he sent a commission to Milan, but his short pontificate ended before any result appeared.^a

The intervention of Nicolas II. was requested by Ariald, and Peter Damiani was sent to Milan as legate, with Anselm, the original author of the troubles, as his colleague.^b They found the

^x Arnulph, iii. 12; Land. iii. 10-11; Voigt, 51-2.

^y The disputes appear to have arisen from a passage of Arnulph (iv. 11)—“Unde Patarium processit primo vocabulum, non quidem industria sed casu prolatum. Cujus idioma nominis, dum in quodam etymologio nuper plura revolverem, ita scriptum reperio—*Pathis* Græce, Latine dicitur *perturbatio*. Unde juxta meæ parvitatis ingeniolam statim conjicio quod *Patarini* possunt *perturbatores* rite nuncupari; quod plane rerum probat effectus. Veruntamen si quando quis probatori fuerit interpretatus sententia, concedo equidem tota mentis tranquillæ convenientia, dummodo nomen concordet operi, opus vero respondeat nomini.” By many writers this has been represented as a derivation which Arnulph not only seriously adopted, but had found annexed to *Patarini* in the dictionary which he consulted. It is, however, clear that the dictionary said nothing about *Patarini*. Bonizo says, without hesitation, “*Paterinos*, i. e. *promissos* vocabant” (p. 805); and Giulini (quoted by Pertz, viii. 20) says that they were so called from the Rag-fair of Milan—“la contrada de’ rivenduglioli di panni vecchi, detti da

noi *Patori*.” Was Arnulph really in doubt, or did he mean anything more than to amuse himself with the likeness of sound between *Patarini* and the word which he had lighted on? Floto supposes that, as a man of rank, he was above knowing the real derivation (i. 237). Bonizo goes on—“Et illi quidem dicentes fratri *Riccha* rei erant judicio; *richos* enim Græce, Latine *paucius* dicitur.” (!) See Pagi, xvii. 141; Theiner, ii. 59; Neander, vi. 67. The name, like that of the *thiars* or Beggars in the Low Countries, seems to have been at first given in derision, and then assumed by the party. As used to designate the sectaries of the middle ages, it has been strangely interpreted by etymologists who confine their view to that later use. See the British Magazine, xvi. 601, seqq.

^z Hugh of Flavigny says that the adherents of Gregory VII. were so called by way of reproach (Pertz, viii. 462).

^a Arnulph, iii. 13; Landulph, iii. 11-13; Voigt, 52.

^b Hildebrand is said by Arnulph (iii. 14) to have been with them, which is clearly a mistake, as Damiani's report of the proceedings at Milan is addressed to him. Landulph (iii. 13) and Bonizo

city in great excitement. The Milanese, roused by the alarm that the independence of their church was in danger, were now as zealous on the side of the clergy as they had lately been against them. Loud cries were uttered against all aggression; the Roman pontiff, it was said, had no right to force his laws or his jurisdiction on the church of St. Ambrose. Bells pealed from every tower, handbells were rung about the streets, and the clangour of a huge brazen trumpet summoned the people to stand up for the threatened privileges of their church. The legates found themselves besieged in the archbishop's palace by angry crowds; they were told that their lives were in jeopardy; and the popular feeling was excited to frenzy when, on the opening of the synod, Peter was seen as president, with his brother legate on his right hand, while the successor of St. Ambrose was on the left.^c Guy—whether out of real humility, or with the design of inflaming yet further the indignation of his flock,^d—professed himself willing to sit on a stool at the feet of the legates, if required. A terrible uproar ensued, but Peter Damiani turned the day. Rushing into the pulpit, he addressed the raging multitude, and was able to obtain a hearing. It was not, he said, for the honour of the Roman church, but for their own good, that he had come among them. He dwelt on the superiority of the Roman church. It was founded by God, whereas all other churches were of human foundation; the church of Milan was a daughter of the Roman, founded by disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul; St. Ambrose himself had acknowledged the church of Rome as his mother, had professed to follow it in all things, and had called in Pope Siricius to aid him in ejecting that very heresy of the Nicolaitans which was now again rampant. "Search your writings," said the cardinal, "and, if you cannot there find what we say, tax us with falsehood."^e Since Damiani himself reports his speech, it is to be supposed that he believed these bold assertions; at all events the confidence and the fluency with which he uttered them, the authority of his position, and his high personal reputation, prevailed with the Milanese. The archbishop and a great body of the clergy forswore simony, bound themselves by oath to labour for the extirpation of it, and on their knees received the sentence of penance for their past offences.^f The result of the legation was not only the condemnation of the practices which had

(805) say that Hildebrand was in the commission sent by *Stephen*; but this too appears not free from difficulty.

^c P. Dam. *Aetius Mediolanenses*, cc. 31-2 (t. iii.); *Vita*, 16.

^d "Dicant id non simplici factum intentione qui volunt," &c. P. Dam. 32; but he himself acquits the archbishop.

^e *Ib.* 32.

^f *Ib.* 33 5.

been complained of, but the subjection of the Milanese church to that of Rome.^g

At the Roman synod of 1059, Guy appeared, and was treated with studious respect. He was seated at the pope's right hand, and, on his promising obedience to the apostolic see, Nicolas bestowed on him the ring, which the archbishops of Milan had usually received from the kings of Italy. Ariald stood up to accuse him, but was reduced to silence by Cunibert of Turin, and other Lombard bishops.^h The council (as we have seen) renewed with great rigour the canons for the celibacy of the clergy, and forbade communion with any priest who was known to live in marriage or concubinage; it also enacted that the clergy should embrace the canonical system of life.ⁱ

Nicolas, like Leo IX., had offended his own countrymen by the zeal with which he devoted himself to the Italian interest. An opposition to him was formed in Germany, headed by Hammo, archbishop of Cologne, who, in conjunction with other prelates, drew up an act of excommunication and deposition against the pope. Nicolas was already ill when this document reached him; he is said to have read it with a great appearance of grief, and his death followed almost immediately, on the 27th of July 1061.^k

Each of the Roman parties now took measures for securing the succession to the papacy. The nobles and imperialists, under the guidance of Cardinal Hugh the White, who had lately deserted the high ecclesiastical party in disgust at the superior influence of Hildebrand,^m despatched an embassy to the German court, under Gerard, count of Galeria, who had repeatedly been excommunicated by popes, and had lately incurred a renewal of the sentence for plundering the archbishop of York, with other English prelates and nobles, on their return from a visit to Rome.ⁿ The ambassadors, who were instructed to offer the patriciate and the empire to the young king, were favourably received; while the envoys of Hildebrand and his friends waited five days without obtaining an audience of Henry or of his mother.^o Hildebrand, on learning this result, resolved to proceed to an election. By the promise of a large sum, he induced Richard prince of Capua to repair to Rome,

^g Arnulph hereupon breaks out—"O insensati Mediolanenses, quis vos fascinavit?" iii. 15.

^h Arnulph, iii. 15.

ⁱ Ce. 3-4, Hard. vi. 1062.

^k Benzo, vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi. 672;

Milman, iii. 54. See Floto, i. 241.

^m Stenzel, i. 204.

ⁿ P. Dam. Discept. Synodalis, t. iii. 28; Collier, i. 527.

^o P. Dam. ib. 27.

and, under the protection of the Norman troops, the cardinals chose Anselm of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II. and,

after a bloody conflict between the imperialists and the

Oct. 1. Normans, was enthroned by night in St. Peter's.^p In this election even the vague privilege which had been reserved by Nicolas to the emperor was set aside, in reliance on the weakness of Henry's minority and on the newly-acquired support of the Normans.^q

The report of these proceedings reached Agnes at Basel, where a diet of princes and prelates was assembled, and among them some representatives of the Lombard bishops, who, under the direction of the chancellor Guibert, had resolved to accept no pope but one from "the paradise of Italy."^r The tidings of Alexander's election naturally raised great indignation. Henry was acknowledged as Patrician of Rome; the late pope's decree as to the manner of papal elections was declared to be null;^s and,

Oct. 28. with the concurrence of the Roman envoys, Cadalous, or Cadulus, bishop of Parma, was elected as the successor of Nicolas.^t The imperialist pope, who took the name of Honorius II., was, no doubt, favourable to those views on the subject of clerical marriage which distinguished the Lombard from the Hildebrandine party; but little regard is to be paid to the assertions of his violent opponents, who represent him as a man notoriously and scandalously vicious.^u

Honorius advanced towards Rome, where Benzo, bishop of Alba,^x a bold, crafty, and unscrupulous man, was employed to prepare the minds of the people for his reception. The talents of Benzo as a popular orator, his coarse and exuberant buffoonery, and the money which he was able to dispense, were not without effect on the Romans. On one occasion he had a public encounter with Alexander, whom he compelled to retire amid the scoffs and curses of the mob.^y Honorius was received with honour in many

^p Benzo, vii. 2. ap. Pertz, xi.; Stenzel, i. 205.

^q Planck, IV. i. 83; Stenzel, i. 205.

^r P. Dani. ap. Hard. vi. 1117; Bonizo, 807.

^s Thus, says Damiani, they annulled the privilege which the decree bestowed on Henry. Disc. Synod. t. iii. 27.

^t Schrockh, xxii. 381; Gieseler, II. i. 246.

^u Benzo (vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi. 672) has equally gross stories against Alexander, who is cried up by the Hildebrandists.

^x Alba on the Tanaro, near Asti. Benzo had been expelled from his see (Pertz, xi. 591). His book, 'Ad Henricum IV. Imperatorem,' is a strange medley of Rabelaisian prose and Mephistophelian verse, animated by bitter religious hatred. He makes as free with sentences of judgment as the zealot of the opposite party, Bonizo. Thus, he says of Godfrey of Tuscany — "Descendens in infernum, dominum suum Plutonem salutavit, qui eum secus Judam protinus locavit." iii. 10.

^y Benzo, i. 28; ii. 1-6.

cities. At Tusculum, where he established his camp, he was joined by the count of the place, and received envoys from the patriarch of Constantinople; and his troops were successful in an encounter with the small force which was all that the Normans could then spare for the assistance of Alexander.² April, 1062. But the appearance of Godfrey of Tuscany, with a powerful army, induced both parties to an accommodation. Cadalous was to retire to Parma, Anselm to Lucca, and the question between them was to be decided by the imperial court, to which Godfrey, who affected the character of a mediator, undertook to represent their claims.^a Honorius relied on the favour which he already enjoyed; Alexander, on the interest of Godfrey.^b But at this very time a revolution was effected which gave a new turn to affairs.

The upright and firm administration of the empress-mother was offensive to many powerful persons, who felt it as interfering with their interests; and the princes of Germany, who had been galled by the control of Henry III., especially during the last years of his reign, had conceived hopes of establishing their independence during the minority of his son.^c Slanders were spread as to the intimacy of Agnes with Henry, bishop of Augsburg, on whom she chiefly relied for counsel, and a plot was laid to remove the young king, who was now in his twelfth year, from her guardianship. Hammo, archbishop of Cologne, a severe, proud, and ambitious prelate, undertook the execution of the scheme.^d He caused a vessel to be prepared with extraordinary richness of ornament, and, while at table with Henry in an island of the Rhine, near the present site of Kaiserswerth,^e he described this May, 1062. vessel in such terms as excited in the king a wish to see it. No sooner was Henry on board than the rowers struck up the river. The king, suspecting treachery, threw himself overboard, but was rescued from the water; his alarm was soothed, and he was landed at Cologne. The people of that city rose in great excitement, but were pacified by Hammo, who assured them that he had not acted from any private motives, but for the good of the state; and, by way of proving his sincerity, he published a decree that the administration of government and of justice should be vested

² Benzo, ii. 9; Bowden, i. 222.

^a Benzo, ii. 13-4.

^b Voigt, 59.

^c Schmidt, ii. 205; Stenzel, i. 187.

^d Stenzel, i. 193, 214. Hammo, notwithstanding his palpable defects of character, was held in very high esteem

by his contemporaries, and was afterwards canonised. See Lambert, Ann. 1075, p. 237; and a Life in Pertz, xi.

^e See Floto, i. 201. The island had its name from St. Suidbert (see p. 95), who founded a monastery on it. Bede, v. 11; Rettberg, ii. 423.

in the archbishop of that province in which the king should for the time be resident.^f

Hanno had thus far supported the Lombard pope, but he now found it expedient to make common cause with the Ilildebrandine party; indeed it is probable that his late enterprise had been known beforehand to Godfrey of Tuscany, if not to Ilildebrand and the other ecclesiastical leaders.^g Peter Damiani, who had already, by letters written with his usual vehemence, urged Henry to put down the antipope,^h and Cadalous himself to retire from the contest,ⁱ now addressed Hanno in a strain of warm congratulation—comparing the abduction of Henry to the good priest Jehoiaada's act in rescuing the young Joash from Athaliah, and exhorting the archbishop to take measures for obtaining a synodical declaration against Cadalous.^k Guibert, the chief supporter of the imperial interest in Italy, was now deprived of his chancellorship;^m and in October, 1062, a synod was held at Osbor,ⁿ where Peter appeared, and presented an argument for Alexander in the form of a dialogue between an "Advocate of the Royal Power," and a "Defender of the Roman Church."^o The Roman champion, as might be expected, is fortunate in his opponent. The Advocate of royalty, ill acquainted with the grounds of his cause, and wonderfully open to conviction, is driven from one position after another. His assertion that popes had always been chosen by princes is confuted by an overwhelming array of instances to the contrary.^p The donation of Constantine is triumphantly cited.^q The Advocate then takes refuge in the reservation which the late pope's decree had made of the imperial prerogative; but he is told that, as the

^f Lambert, Ann. 1062; Voigt, 63-4.

^g Benzo, ii. 15; Planck, iv. 90-1; Milman, iii. 73.

^h Ep. iii. 3. As a specimen of Peter's style, the description of Cadalous may be quoted—"Veterrimus ille draco, perturbator ecclesiarum, eversor apostolicæ disciplinæ, inimicus salutis humanæ, radix peccati, præco diaboli, apostolus antichristi, et—quid plura dicam?"—[a very natural question, which, however, the cardinal abundantly answers] "sagitta producta de pharetra Satane, virga Assur, filius Belial, filius perditionis qui adversatur et extollitur super omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur, vorago libidinis, naufragium castitatis, Christianitatis opprobrium, ignominia sacerdotum, genimen viperarum, fœtor orbis, spurcitia sæculi, dedecus universitatis, serpens lubricus,

coluber tortuosus, stercus hominum, latrina criminum, sentina vitiorum, abominatio cœli, projectio paradisi, pabulum tartari, stipula ignis æterni, qui audacter provocat in bella Cœlestem, et dicit insipiens in corde suo 'Non est Deus.'"^r p. 111. The vagueness of all this abuse is remarkable.

ⁱ Ep. i. 20.

^k Ib. 6.

^m Bonizo, pp. 806, 808.

ⁿ This name is generally supposed to be an Italian corruption of *Osbert ory* (Schröckh, xxi. 538; Stenzel, i. 220). But Dean Milman places Osbor near Cologne (iii. 68). Luden denies the reality of the synod (viii. 684-7). Against him, see Voigt, 76.

^o Opusc. iv. t. iii. 21, seqq. Also in Baron. 1062, and in Hardouin, vi.

^p P. 22.

^q P. 23.

Almighty sometimes leaves his promises unfulfilled because men fail in the performance of their part, so the grant made by Nicolas to Henry need not be always observed; that the privileges granted to the king are not invaded if, during his childhood, the Roman church—his better and spiritual mother—exercise a guardian care like that which his natural mother exerts in the political administration of his kingdom.^r

The pamphlet was read before the synod, which acknowledged Alexander as pope, and excommunicated his rival. It was the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, the anniversary of the antipope's election; and a prediction which Damiani had confidently uttered, that, if he should persist in his claims, he would die within the year,^s was proved to be ridiculously false. The prophet, however, was not a man to be readily abashed, and professed to see the fulfilment of his words in the excommunication—the spiritual death—of Cadalous.^t

Peter had by this time withdrawn from the eminent position to which Stephen IX. had promoted him. His reforming zeal had been painfully checked by the supineness of those with whom he was connected. His brother cardinals, to whom he addressed an admonitory treatise on their duties,^u continued to live as if it had never been written. His attempts to stimulate Pope Nicolas to a thorough purification of the church were but imperfectly successful, although he cited Phineas as a model, and Eli as a warning.^x Moreover, in his simple monkish earnestness for a religious and moral reformation, he was unable to enter into Hildebrand's deeper and more politic schemes for the aggrandisement of the hierarchy; he felt that Hildebrand employed him as a tool, and he was dissatisfied with the part.^y He therefore repeatedly entreated Nicolas to release him from his bishoprick, on the plea of age, and of inability to discharge his duties.^z The pope refused his consent, and Hildebrand, unwilling to lose the services of a man so useful to his party, told Peter that he made use of false pretences in order to escape from duty; but Peter persisted in his suit, and in the first year of Alexander's pontificate^a he was allowed to retire to his hermitage of Fonte Avellano. There he spent part of his

^r Pp. 23-4.

^s "Non ego te fallo, cepto morieris in anno."
Ep. i. 20, ad Cadul.

^t P. Dam. ap. Baron. 1062. 71.

^u Ep. ii. 1.

^x Opusc. xvii. "De Celibatu clerico-

rum," t. iii. 165-7.

^y Stenzel, i. 280.

^z Opusc. xix. "De Abdicatione Episcopatus."

^a Pagi, xvii. 192.

time in simple manual works; among his verses are some which he sent to the pope with a gift of wooden spoons manufactured by himself.^b But he continued to exercise great influence by his writings; he was consulted by multitudes as an oracle;^c and from time to time he left his wilderness to take a share personally in the affairs of the church. The empress-mother Agnes, after the death of the bishop of Augsburg, placed herself under the direction of Damiani, who taught her to repent of her policy towards the church. She submitted to penance at the hands of Alexander, and became a nun in the Roman convent of St. Petronilla.^d

Hanno and his associates had loudly censured Agnes for the manner in which she educated her son; but when they had got the young king into their own hands, his education was utterly neglected. No care was taken to instruct him in the duties of a sovereign or of a Christian man. His strong natural talents and his amiable dispositions were uncultivated; the unsteadiness of character which was his chief defect was unchecked; no restraint was opposed to his will; he was encouraged to waste his time and his energies in trifling or degrading occupations—in hunting, gaming, and premature indulgence of the passions.^e Hanno, finding that he himself was distasteful to Henry, on account both of the artifice by which he had obtained possession of his person, and of his severe and imperious manners,^f called in the aid of Adalbert, bishop of Bremen. The character of this prelate has been very fully depicted by the historian of northern Christianity, Adam, who, as a canon of his church, had ample opportunities of knowing him. Adalbert was a man of many splendid qualities. His person was eminently handsome, he was distinguished for eloquence and for learning; his morals, by a rare exception to the

^b *Carm.* 183-5, t. iv. p. 21.

^c See *Ep.* i. 15, p. 11, where he complains that, although no longer a bishop, he has still to bear the burden of the episcopal office. Among the questions proposed to him was one by Alexander—Why popes were short-lived, seldom exceeding four or five years in the see? The answer was a tract, '*De Brevitate Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum*' (*Opusc.* xxiii.), which was presented to Alexander as he returned from the Council of Mantua. The reason is, according to Damiani, that, since the chief of men is thus short-lived, all men should be warned to prepare for death. That secular princes often live long, is because

there are many of them, and the death of one is not felt beyond his own dominions. But the pope, being sole universal bishop of the church, is like the sun, whose eclipse overcasts all nations. c. 1.

^d *Baron.* 1062, 86, seqq.; *P. Dam. Epp.* vii. 5-8; *Opusc.* lvi.; *Floto*, i. 205.

^e *Brano de bello Saxonico*, ap. *Pertz*, v. 331-4; *Schmidt*, ii. 205, 273; *Voigt*, 65. "Infeliceiter vixit," says the Saxon annalist, "quia sicut voluit vixit." *Pertz*, vi. 697.

^f *Lambert*, *Ann.* 1063, p. 466; *Stenzel*, i. 217.

character of the age, were unimpeached; his devotion was such that he wept at the celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice.^g He had laboured with zeal and success for the spreading of the Gospel among the northern nations—extending his care even to the Orkneys and to Iceland.^h He had conceived the idea of exalting Bremen to the dignity of a patriarchate,ⁱ and it was a desire to promote the interest of his see which first led him to frequent the imperial court. He acquired the confidence of Henry III., whom he attended into Italy in 1046; it is said that the emperor even wished to bestow the papacy on him, and that Suidger of Bamberg was preferred by Adalbert's own desire.^k The hope of erecting a northern patriarchate ended with the death of the archbishop's patrons, Henry and Leo IX., and from that time he devoted himself to political ambition.^l The faults of his character became more and more developed.^m His pride, vanity, ostentation, and prodigality were extravagantly displayed. His kindness and his anger were alike immoderate. The wealth which he had before spent in ecclesiastical buildings was now lavished on castles;ⁿ he maintained a numerous and costly force of soldiers; and to meet the expenses of his secular grandeur he oppressed the tenants of his church and sold its precious ornaments.^o He entertained a host of parasites,—artists, players, quacksalvers, minstrels, and jugglers; one was a baptised Jew, who professed the science of alchemy; others flattered their patron by promising him, on the strength of visions and revelations, power, long life, and the exaltation of his church. While engaged in the society of these familiars, the archbishop would refuse an audience to persons who wished to see him on the gravest matters of business; sometimes he spent the night in playing at dice, and the day in sleep.^p His eagerness to extend the possessions of his see, and to render it independent of lay control, involved him in many quarrels with neighbouring nobles;^q and his favourite table-talk consisted of sarcasms on these powerful enemies—the stupidity of one, the greed of another, the boorishness of a third.^r At the same time he was proud of his own descent from the counts palatine of Saxony; he spoke with contempt of his predecessors in the archbishoprick as a lowborn set of men,^s and even claimed kindred, through the family of the Othos, with the em-

^g Adam Brem. iii. 1; Lambert, Ann. 1072, p. 189.

^h See Adam, iii. 11, seqq., and the additions at the end of l. iii. pp. 364-7.

ⁱ Ad. Brem. iii. 2.

^l Ib. 33.

^k Ib. 7, 30.

^o Ib. 35, 39.

ⁿ Ib. 9, 10, 36.

^q Ib. 35-38; Bruno de Bello Saxon. ap. Pertz, v. 330-1; Stenzel, i. 234.

^r Ad. Brem. iii. 5.

^s Ib. 39.

^p Ib. 45.

^t Ib. 68.

perors of the east."^u To the poor, his behaviour was gentle and condescending; he would often wash the feet of thirty beggars; but to his equals he was haughty and assuming.^x

The fascination of Adalbert's society won the young king, and after a time Hanno found it expedient to admit his brother archbishop to a share in the administration.^y The misgovernment of these prelates was scandalous. Intent exclusively on their own interest and on that of their partisans, they appropriated or gave away estates belonging to the crown, while they used the royal name to sanction their plunder of other property. The wealth of monasteries, in particular, was pillaged without mercy. To Hanno his rapacity appeared to be justified by the application of the spoil to religious uses; Adalbert was rapacious in order to obtain the means of maintaining his splendour. Hanno, a man of obscure birth,^z practised the most shameless nepotism in the bestowal of ecclesiastical dignities, while Adalbert disdained such expedients for enriching his kindred.^a The sale of ecclesiastical preferment was openly carried on; a historian of the time tells us that money was the only way to promotion.^b The feuds and the insubordination of the nobles became more uncontrollable; nor were ecclesiastics slow to imitate their example. Thus in consequence of a question as to precedence between the bishop of Hildesheim and the abbot of Fulda, a violent affray took place between their retainers in the church of Goslar, at Christmas 1062. It was renewed with still greater fury at the following Whitsuntide, when the king's presence was no more regarded than the holiness of the place. Henry was even in personal danger, and many were slain on both sides. The great monastery of St. Boniface was long disturbed by the consequences of these scenes, and was impoverished by the penalties imposed on it for the share which its monks had taken in them.^c

Adalbert gradually supplanted Hanno. At Easter 1065, he carried Henry to Worms, where the young king, then aged fifteen, was girt with the sword and declared to be of age to carry on the government for himself. Thus the regency of Hanno ceased, while Adalbert, as the minister of Henry, for a time enjoyed undivided power.^d Under his administration the state of things became continually worse. Simony was more shamelessly prac-

^u Ad. Brem. iii. 31.

^x Ib. 2.

Stenzel, i. 222, 233.

^y Lambert, Ann. 1063, p. 162; Ad. Brem. iii. 33.

^b Lambert, p. 166.

^c Ib. pp. 161-5; Voigt, 65-71.

^z Floto, i. 196, 285.

^d Lambert, Ann. 1065, p. 168; Steu-

^a Adam, iii. 24; Lambert, p. 167; zel, i. 236-7.

tised than ever; the pillage of monasteries was carried on without measure; for the archbishop taught the young king to regard monks as merely his stewards and bailiffs.^e Adalbert's private quarrels were turned into affairs of state, and he took advantage of his position to inspire Henry with a dislike of the Saxons and others who had offended him. The discontent of his enemies and of those who suffered from his misgovernment at length rose to a height, and at a diet which was held at Tribur, in January 1066, Henry was required by a powerful party of princes and prelates to choose between the resignation of his crown and the dismissal of the archbishop of Bremen. Adalbert was driven to make a hasty flight; he was required to give up almost the whole revenue of his see to his enemies; and his lands were plundered, so that he was reduced to support himself by appropriating the endowments of the poor and of religious houses, and by oppressive exactions which are said to have driven some to madness and many to beggary.^f Hanno resumed the government. His rapacity and his nepotism were unabated, but sometimes met with successful resistance. A nephew whom he had nominated to the archbishoprick of Treves was seized by the people, who were indignant at the denial of their elective rights; the unfortunate man was thrice thrown from a rock, and, as he still lived, was despatched with a sword.^g And an aggression on the property of the monks of Malmedy was defeated by the miraculous power of their patron St. Remachus.^h

The antipope Honorius had made a fresh attempt on Rome in 1063, when he gained possession of the Leonine city, and was enthroned in St. Peter's; but the Romans rose against him, and, after much fighting with a Norman force which Hildebrand had called in to oppose him, he was compelled to shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, where he held out for two years, under the protection of Cencius, a disorderly noble who had made himself master of the place. After having in vain implored the assistance of Henry and of Adalbert, he at length felt himself obliged to withdraw, paying three hundred pounds of silver for the consent of Cencius to his departure, and retired to his bishoprick of Parma.ⁱ Hanno, after the recovery of his power, proceeded into Italy with a view of putting an end to the schism.^k At Rome he held a

^e Lambert, p. 167.

^f Adam. Brem. iii. 48, 57; Stenzel, i. 241.

^g Bertold. Ann. 1066, ap. Pertz, v.

^h Triumphus S. Remaci de Malmundariensi Canobio, ap. Pertz, xi. 438,

seqq.; Lambert, Ann. 1071, p. 183.

ⁱ Benzo, ii. 16; Bonizo, p. 807; Voigt, 92-6; Bowden, i. 214.

^k The date of this expedition is placed by some in 1064; by Jaffé, although doubtfully, as early as 1063; and by

synod, where Alexander appeared. The archbishop asked him how he had ventured to occupy the apostolical chair without the sovereign's permission; whereupon Hildebrand stood forward as the champion of his party, and maintained that the election of the pope had been regularly conducted—that no layman had any right to control the disposal of the holy see.^m Hanno was disposed to be easily satisfied, and adjourned the consideration of the case to a synod which was to be held at Mantua.

At this synod Alexander presided, and defended all his acts. Honorius, in answer to a citation, refused to attend, unless he might be allowed to sit as president. At the head of an armed force, he attempted to disturb the council, but the attempt was put down by Godfrey of Tuscany. Alexander was formally acknowledged, and was escorted by Godfrey to Rome.ⁿ The antipope held possession of Parma to his death, maintaining his pretensions to the papacy, but without any further active attempt to enforce them.^o

The pacification effected by Peter Damiani at Milan had too much the nature of a surprise to be lasting. The promulgation of the decrees passed by the Roman synod of 1059 was the signal for great commotions in Northern Italy. Many bishops refused to publish them; the bishop of Brescia, on attempting to do so, was almost torn to pieces by his clergy.^p And in Milan itself disorders soon broke out again.

Landulph died,^q but his place was taken by his brother Herlembald. The new leader had been a valiant soldier; his views as to the marriage of the clergy had been influenced by finding that his affianced bride had been guilty of levity with a clerk.^r On this discovery, he broke off the match, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return would have become a monk, but that Ariald persuaded him to continue in secular life, and to serve the church by defending it. The character of

Mansi as late as 1071 or the following year (Not. in Natal. Alexand. xiii. 496). I have followed Pagi (xvii. 256), Stenzel (Beilage viii.), Voigt (97), and Bowden (i. 254).

^m Lambert, Ann. 1064; Bonizo, p. 808.

ⁿ Bonizo, p. 808; Benzo, iii. 27-9.

^o Lambert, Ann. 1064; Schröckh, xxi.

386.

^p Bonizo, p. 807.

^q Arnulph. iii. 16, who says that he had lost his voice two years before his

death, "ut in quo multos affecerat, in eo quoque deficeret." Landulph, however, represents his namesake as having continued to act with Ariald and Herlembald, and as having died when they set up Atto as archbishop in preference to himself. iii. 29.

^r "Cum clerico quodam jocasse," Landulph. iii. 14. Auden (ix. 34) and Floto (i. 273) understood this to mean that she was seduced.

Herlembald was bold, violent, and resolute; he was possessed of a fiery eloquence, and was devoted to his cause with the narrow, reckless, and intolerant zeal which not uncommonly marks the religious partisanship of persons trained to martial professions. He now accompanied Ariald to Rome, where Alexander received them as old friends and bestowed on Herlembald a consecrated banner, charging him to unfurl it against heresy.^s On returning to Milan, the two began a fresh course of aggression against the married and concubinary clergy. They excited the multitude by their addresses; they won the poor by large distributions of money, and the young by the skilful use of flattery. A company of youths was formed, sworn to extirpate concubinage among the clergy, and with it was joined a rabble composed of low artisans and labourers, of persons in want of employment, and of ruffians attracted by the hope of plunder.^t Some Manicheans, or adherents of the Monteforte heresy,^u are also mentioned as associates in the cause.^x For eighteen years Herlembald exercised a tyrannic power in Milan. Yet the populace was not entirely with him; for, while he and Ariald, in their enthusiasm for Roman usages, went so far as to disparage the Milanese ritual, they furnished their opponents with a powerful cry in behalf of the independence of the church of St. Ambrose.^y The reformers were very unscrupulous as to the means of carrying out their plans; Herlembald, when in want of money, proclaimed that any priest who could not swear that he had strictly kept the vow of continence since his ordination should lose all his property; and on this his adherents conveyed female attire by stealth into the houses of some of the clergy, where the discovery of it exposed the victims of the trick to confiscation, plunder, and outrage.^z The streets of Milan were continually disquieted by affrays between the hostile parties. Peter Damiani by his correspondence stimulated the reformers, and Gualbert of Vallombrosa sent some of his monks to aid them.^a The persecuted clergy, on the other hand, found allies in many Lombard bishops, who urged them to leave the city, and offered them hospitable entertainment.^b It is said that even Ariald was at one time touched by remorse and expressed penitence on

^s Arnulph. iii. 17; Landulph. iii. 15;

Andreas, ap. Pertz, vii. 21.

^t Landulph. iii. 15, 21; Theiner, ii.

117.

^u See p. 421.^x Landulph. iii. 19.^y Arnulph. iii. 17.^z Landulph. iii. 21.^a Atto, Vita S. Gualb. ap. Mabill. ix.

c. 58.

^b Landulph. iii. 16.

seeing the misery, and the destitution of religious ordinances, which had arisen from his agitation.^c

A conference was held, at which a priest named Andrew especially distinguished himself by pleading for the marriage of the clergy. He rested the warrant for it on Scripture and on ancient usage, and spoke forcibly of the worse evils which had resulted from a denial of the liberty to marry.^d It was said that St. Ambrose had sanctioned the marriage of the clergy; that by representing continency as a special gift of grace, he implied that it was something which ought not to be exacted of all. Ariald replied that marriage had been allowed in the times when babes required to be fed with milk, but that all things were now new. The conference was broken off by an attack of the mob on the clergy.^e The discomfited party alleged that miracles were wrought among them in behalf of clerical marriage, but their stories produced no effect.^f

In 1066, Herlembald, leaving Ariald to keep up the excitement of the Milanese, went again to Rome, and before a synod accused archbishop Guy of simony.^g The pope was unwilling to proceed to extremities, but Hildebrand persuaded him to pronounce a sentence of excommunication, which was conveyed to Milan by Herlembald. On Whitsunday the archbishop ascended the pulpit of his cathedral, holding the document in his hand. He inveighed against Herlembald and Ariald as the authors of the troubles which had so long afflicted the city. He complained of their behaviour towards himself, and concluded his speech by desiring that all who loved St. Ambrose would leave the church. Out of a congregation of seven thousand, all withdrew except the two agitators and about twelve of their adherents. These were attacked by the younger clergy, with some lay partisans of the archbishop. Ariald was nearly killed; Herlembald fought desperately, and cut his way out of the church. The Patarines, on hearing of this, rose in the belief that Ariald was dead, and their numbers were swollen by a multitude of peasants from the neighbourhood, who had repaired to Milan for the festival; they stormed the cathedral and the archiepiscopal palace, dragged the archbishop out, handled him roughly, and left him hardly alive. Next day, when the

^c Land. iii. 20.

^d Land. iii. 26. Among other things, he alleged a late discovery of children's bones in a cistern (p. 92). See above, p. 482.

^e Landulph, iii. 22-7.

^f Ib. 28.

^g Arnulph, iii. 19. Perhaps a fresh excommunication had been uttered against Ariald by Guy. Comp. Arnulph, iii. 13, with Landulph, iii. 16, and the notes in Pertz. Also Milvan, iii. 86.

peasantry had left the city, the nobles and clergy resolved to take vengeance for these outrages. Ariald fled in disguise, pursued by two clerks with a party of soldiers, while the archbishop laid an interdict on the city until he should be found. The unfortunate man was betrayed by his companion into the hands of a niece of the archbishop named Oliva, who directed five of her servants to conduct him to an island in the Lago Maggiore. His guards then asked him whether he acknowledged Guy as archbishop of Milan. "He is not," said Ariald, "nor ever was, for no archbishop-like work is or ever was in him." The servants then set on him, cut off his members one by one, with words of savage mockery, and at length put an end to his life, and threw his body into the lake. Some months after the murder, the corpse was found; Herlembald compelled the archbishop to give it up; it was carried in triumph to Milan, and miracles were reported to be performed by it. By these scenes, the exasperation of Herlembald and his party was rendered more intense than ever.^h

In the following spring, the pope visited Milan, on his way to the council of Mantua, when he made some regulations as to discipline and canonised Ariald as a martyr.ⁱ Two Roman cardinals were soon after sent as legates to Milan. They entered on their commission in a temperate and conciliatory spirit. It was Aug. 1,
1067. decreed that the clergy should separate from their wives or concubines; that such of them as should persist in defying this order should be deprived of their office; but that no one should be deprived except on confession or conviction, and that the laity should not take the punishment of offending clergymen into their own hands.^k But these orders had little effect. Herlembald, dissatisfied with the moderation of the commissioners, again went to Rome, where Hildebrand joined him in maintaining the necessity of appointing a new archbishop instead of Guy, whose title they declared to be invalid, as being derived from the imperial nomination.^m

Guy himself at length became weary of his uneasy dignity. He expressed a wish to resign, and sent his ring and crozier A.D. 1069. to the king, with a request (which is said to have been supported by moneyⁿ) that a deacon named Godfrey might be ap-

^h Bonizo. p. 808; Vita S. Arialdi, ap. Baron. 1066. 19-20; Voigt, 101; Theiner, ii. 122-3; Milman, iii. 87. Landulph says that the body honoured as Ariald's was really that of a woman, iii. 30.

ⁱ Landulph. junior, ap. Pagi, xvii. 291.

^k Hard. vi. 1081-6.

^m Arnulph, iii. 21.

ⁿ Bonizo, 807.

pointed as his successor. Henry accepted the recommendation, and nominated Godfrey to the see, but the Milanese refused to receive him. Nor were Herlembald's party able to establish a young ecclesiastic named Atto, whom they set up as a rival archbishop; he was driven from the city on the day of his consecration, after having been compelled to forswear his pretensions. The church was in a state of utter confusion. Hildebrand declared the oath extorted from Atto to be null, and procured a like declaration from the pope.^o Godfrey was excommunicated by Alexander, and was persecuted by Herlembald, who, by intercepting the revenues of the archbishoprick, rendered him unable to pay a stipulated pension to Guy; and the old man, in distress and discontent, allowed himself to be decoyed into a reconciliation with Herlembald. He was allowed to retain the title of archbishop, but was kept as a virtual prisoner in a monastery, while Herlembald wielded the ecclesiastical as well as the secular power in Milan.^p Guy died in 1071, but the troubles of his church were not ended by his death.

While these scenes were in progress at Milan, disturbances of a similar kind took place at Florence, where Gualbert and the monks of Vallombrosa publicly accused the bishop, Peter, of simony, and declared the ministrations of simoniac and married clergy to be invalid.^q After much contention and some bloodshed,^r they proposed to decide the question by ordeal. The bishop refused to abide such a trial, and the pope, who had been appealed to, discouraged it; but a monk named Peter undertook to prove the charge. Two piles of wood were erected, ten feet in length, and with a narrow passage between them. The monk celebrated the eucharist, and proceeded to the place of trial, clothed in the sacerdotal vestments, and with his feet bare. After praying that, if his charge against the bishop of Florence were just, he might escape unhurt, he entered between the burning piles bearing the cross in his hands. For a time he was hidden by flames and smoke; but he reappeared uninjured, and was hailed by the spectators with admiration and triumph.^t The bishop, a

^o Arnulph, iii. 22, 25; iv. 2; Landulph. sen. iii. 18; Bonizo, 810.

^p Bonizo, 809; Arnulph, iii. 22; Milman, iii. 87.

^q Berthold, Ann. 1067, ap. Pertz, v.; Atto, Vita S. Joh. Gualb. cc. 10, 60, seqq. ap. Mabill. ix.; Baron. 1063, 1-60. Against those who refused to communicate with the bishop, on account of

the charge of simony, Peter Damiani wrote Opusc. xxx. "De Sacramentis per improbos administratis."

^r The biographer of Gualbert charges the bishop with attempting to get rid of his enemies by sending soldiers to burn them in a monastery. c. 60.

^s Mansi in Baron. xvii. 238.

^t Atto, 64; Victor. III. Dial. iii. in

man of mild character, yielded to the popular clamour by withdrawing from Florence; but he retained his bishoprick until his death, and the diocese was administered in his name by a deputy.^u The zeal of the monk Peter, who acquired the name of "the Fiery,"^x was rewarded by promotion to high dignity in the church. In the pontificate of Gregory VII. he became cardinal-bishop of Albano; and was employed as legate in Germany.^y

Henry III. had chosen as a wife for his son, Bertha, daughter of the marquis of Susa, whose powerful interest in Italy he hoped to secure by the connexion.^z The princess was beautiful, and, as appeared in the varied trials of her life, her character was noble and affectionate; but the young king, from unwillingness to forsake his irregularities, was reluctant to fulfil the engagement. After recovering from an illness which his physicians supposed to be desperate, he was persuaded by the entreaties of his nobles to marry Bertha in 1066; but three years later he formed a design of repudiating her.^a With a view to this, he endeavoured to secure the interest of Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, by a promise of aiding him in enforcing the payment of tithes from Thuringia to his see, and Siegfried willingly listened to the inducement.^b He wrote to the pope in behalf of the divorce, although in a tone which showed that he was somewhat ashamed of his part; he had (he said) threatened the king with excommunication unless some definite reason were given for his desire of a separation.^c Peter Damiani was once more sent into Germany, and assembled a synod at Mentz, from which city, at Henry's summons, it was transferred to Frankfort. After a discussion of the matter, the legate earnestly entreated Henry to desist from his purpose, for the sake of his own reputation, if he were indifferent to the laws of God and man. He told him that it was an accursed project, unworthy alike of a Christian and of a king; that it was monstrous for one whose duty it was to punish misdeeds, to give so flagrant

Bibl. Patr. xviii. 855, where it is said that he dropped a handkerchief in his passage, and went back to recover it.

^u See Theiner, ii. 109. Some monastic historians represent the matter differently.

^x "Petrus Igneus."

^y Bernold. ap. Pertz, v. 436.

^z Luden, viii. 290.

^a Voigt, 111-2. Bruno (De Bello Saxonico, ap. Freher, i. 102) says that he endeavoured to entrap her into

adultery with one of his courtiers: That the story is incredible, see Stenzel, ii. 62-3.

^b Lambert, Ann. 1069. p. 174. The part of Thuringia which was immediately subject to Mentz had been exempt ever since the conversion of the people, while another part paid tithes to the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld. Siegfried claimed all. Luden, viii. 412.

^c Hard. vi. 1164.

an example; that the pope would never consent to the divorce, nor ever crown him as emperor if he persisted in urging it. The king submitted, although unwillingly, and soon resumed his licentious habits.^d But the character of Bertha gradually won his affection, and her fidelity supported him in his troubles of many years.^e

About this time Adalbert, after a banishment of three years from the court, recovered his position, and for a time conducted the government with absolute power.^f The evils of his former administration were renewed, and even exceeded. Ecclesiastical preferments were put up to open sale in the court; and it is said that a general disgust was excited by the sight of the shameless traffic in which monks engaged, and of the hoarded wealth which they produced, to be expended in simoniacal purchases.^g Feuds, intrigues, discontent, abounded. The archbishop resumed his ambitious project of erecting his see into a patriarchate.^h The writer to whom we are indebted for the fullest account of his career describes his last years with a mixture of sorrow and awe—dwelling fondly on his noble gifts, relating his errors with honest candour, and lamenting his melancholy perversion and decline. It seemed as if Adalbert's mind were disordered by the vicissitudes through which he had passed. His days were spent in sleep, his nights in waking. His irritability became intolerable; to those who provoked him he spoke with an indecent violence of language, or he struck them, and sometimes so as even to draw blood. He showed no mercy to the poor; he plundered religious and charitable foundations, while he was lavish in his gifts to the rich, and to the parasites whose flatteries and prophecies obtained an ever-increasing mastery over him. Yet his eloquence was still unabated, and gave plausibility to his wildest extravagances and to his most unjustifiable acts.ⁱ His nearest relations believed him to be under the influence of magic, while he was himself suspected by the vulgar of unhallowed arts—a charge for the falsehood of which the historian solemnly appeals to the Saviour, and to all the saints.^k His health began to fail; a

^d Lambert, Ann. 1069, pp. 175-6.

^e Stenzel, i. 258.

^f Adam Brem. iii. 58; Lambert, Ann. 1072.

^g Lamb. Ann. 1071, p. 189.

^h Adam, iii. 58.

ⁱ Ib. 61.

^k Ib. 62. Such charges were common in those times. Bemo says that Hildebrand practised magic, having derived

his art from Gerbert, through Benedict IX. (ap. Goldast. Apol. pro Henr. IV. 11). And of Henry IV. the Saxon annalist writes—"Ferebatur imaginem quandam ad instar digiti, ex Ægypto adlatam, adorare; a qua quoties responsa querebat, necesse erat homicidium aut in summo festo adulterium procurare." Pertz, vi. 697.

woman, who professed to be inspired, foretold that he would die within two years unless he amended his life ; but he was buoyed up by the assurances of other prophets, that he would live to put all his enemies under his feet, and almost to the last he relied on these assurances in opposition to the warnings of his physicians.^m Omens of evil were observed at Bremen ; crucifixes wept, swine and dogs boldly profaned the churches, wolves mingled their dismal howlings with the hooting of owls around the city, the pagans of the neighbourhood burnt and laid waste Hamburg, and overran Nordalbingia. The archbishop gradually sank. It was in vain that the highest dignitaries of the church sought admittance to his chamber ; he was ashamed to be seen in his decay. The king alone was allowed to enter ; and to him Adalbert, after reminding him of his long service, committed the protection of the church of Bremen. On the 16th of March, 1072, the archbishop expired at Goslar—unlike Wolsey, with whom he has been compared,ⁿ in the recovery of his power, and in the retention of it to the last ; but, like Wolsey, lamenting the waste of his life on objects of which he had too late learnt to understand the vanity. His treasury, into which, by rightful and by wrongful means, such vast wealth had been gathered, was found to be entirely empty ; his books and some relics of saints were all that he left behind him.^o

On the death of Adalbert, Henry, in deference to the solicitations of his nobles, and to the cries of his people, requested Hanno to resume the government. The archbishop reluctantly consented, and, although his rapacity and sternness excited complaints, the benefits of his administration speedily appeared. Nobles were compelled to raze their castles, which had been the strongholds of tyranny and insubordination ; justice was done without respect of persons ; it seemed, according to the best annalist of the age, as if for a time the minister had infused into the indolent young king the activity and the virtues of his father.^p But Hanno was weary of his position, and, on the pretext of age and infirmity, resigned it at the end of nine months ;^q when Henry, feeling (according to Lambert's expression) as if he were delivered from a severe school-master, plunged into a reckless career of dissipation and misgovernment.^r He neglected public business ; violences were com-

^m Adam, 63-4.

ⁿ By Sir James Stephen, in his Essay on Hildebrand.

^o Adam, 63-7.

^p Lambert, Ann. 1072, p. 189-190. This writer, whose Annals end in 1077,

did not give Henry credit for the qualities which he afterwards displayed.

^q Christmas, 1072.

^r Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 192 ; Voigt, 138, 146.

mitted against nobles, the property of churches and monasteries was bestowed on worthless favourites, the hills of Saxony and of Thuringia were crowned with fortresses intended to coerce the inhabitants, and the garrisons indulged without restraint their love of plunder and destruction, their insolence and their lust.^s In Thuringia, the prosecution of Siegfried's claim to tithes was used as a pretext for the military occupation of the country; it had been agreed that the king was to enforce the claim by arms, on condition of sharing in the spoil. Siegfried, by a letter in which he plainly hinted a bribe, endeavoured to draw Hildebrand into his interests.^t In March 1073 a synod met at Erfurt in the king's presence for the consideration of the question. The abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld appeared in opposition to the archbishop. The Thuringians made an appeal to the pope; but Henry threatened ruin and death against any one who should attempt to prosecute it. A composition unfavourable to the Thuringians was agreed on, and the king charged the abbots not to report it to Rome.^u Henry had incurred the general detestation of his subjects, which was swollen by exaggerated and fabulous tales of his misconduct;^x the Saxons, the Thuringians, and the Swabians, exasperated by the wrongs which they had suffered, and by the dread of further evils, were ready to break out into rebellion.^y

The cries of Germany at length reached the pope, who summoned the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, with the bishop of Bamberg, to Rome, and reproved them for their slackness in discouraging simony. Hanno was gently treated, and was presented with some precious relics; Siegfried's offer of a resignation was declined; Otho of Bamberg confessed his guilt, but it is said that he appeased the pope by valuable gifts, and he received the honour of the pall.^z The greatest prelates of Germany were at the pope's feet; the two metropolitans of England had just been compelled to appear before him—Lanfranc of Canterbury, that he might personally receive the pall which he had in vain endeavoured to obtain

^s Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 192; Voigt, 113-132; Stenzel, i. 276.

^t Hard. vi. 1194.

^u Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 193; Hard. vi. 1191.

^x See Floto, c. 58.

^y Voigt, 152-3.

^z Lambert, Ann. 1070 (which is too early a date); Voigt, 153. Otho was involved in serious troubles under Gregory VII., and was at last compelled to retire into a cloister. At an inquiry

into his conduct, in the presence of the pope's legates, a young clerk insolently placed before him a short verse of a psalm. "If," he said, "you will explain this verse to me correctly, not according to its mystical or allegorical meaning, but in the literal sense of the words, I will allow that you are clear from all charges, and are worthy of your bishoprick." Lambert, Ann. 1075, p. 221.

without such appearance; and Thomas of York, that he might refer to the successor of St. Peter and of St. Gregory a question as to the English primacy.^a By these triumphs over national churches, Alexander was encouraged to enter on a contest with the chief representative of the secular power. In October 1072, he had held a conference at Lucca with Beatrice and her daughter Matilda on the means of reforming their royal kinsman; and, as it was agreed that gentle measures would be ineffectual, he proceeded, at a synod in the following Lent, to excommunicate five counsellors who were charged with exerting an evil influence over Henry, and cited the king himself to answer at Rome for simony and other offences. Hanno and the bishop of Bamberg, who were on the point of returning home, were charged with the delivery of the summons. To address such an order to the greatest sovereign of Christendom was an assumption altogether without example, and the consequences were expected with universal anxiety. But on the 21st of April Alexander died, and his citation remained unanswered and unenforced.^b

Peter Damiani had died in the preceding year on his return from a mission to Ravenna, where he had been employed in releasing his fellow citizens from the excommunication brought on them by their late archbishop, as a partisan of the antipope Cadalous.^c

^a See below, c. v.

^b Voigt, 158-9; Bowden, i. 306-7.

^c Vita, 21; Pagi, xvii. 344. Comp. Ep. i. 14.

CHAPTER II.

GREGORY VII.

A.D. 1073-1085.

HILDEBRAND was now to assume in his own person the majesty and the responsibility of the power which he had so long directed.^a

At the death of Alexander, Rome enjoyed a quiet from the rage of its factions unusual on such occasions.^b Hildebrand, as chancellor of the see, ordered a fast of three days, with a view to obtaining the Divine guidance in the choice of a pope. But next day, as the funeral rites of Alexander were in progress, a loud April 22, outcry arose from the clergy and the people, demanding 1073. Hildebrand as his successor. The Chancellor ascended the pulpit, and attempted to still the uproar by representing that the time for an election was not yet come;^c but the cries still continued. Hugh the White then stood forth as spokesman of the cardinals, and, after a warm panegyric on Hildebrand's services to the church, declared to the multitude that on him the election would fall, if no worthier could be found. The cardinals retired for a short time, and, on their reappearance, presented Hildebrand to the people, by whom he was hailed with acclamations.^d

The name which the new pope assumed—Gregory the Seventh—naturally carried back men's thoughts to the last Gregory who had occupied St. Peter's chair.^e By choosing this name Hildebrand did not merely testify his personal attachment to the memory of his master and patron; it was a declaration that he regarded him as a legitimate pope, and was resolved to vindicate those prin-

^a His mastery over the late popes had been the subject of epigrams by Peter Damiani:—

"Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ille Deum."
Carm. 294. (t. iv. 21.)

"Vivere vis Romæ, clara deponito voce—
Plus domino Papæ quam Domino parco Papæ."
Baron. 1061. 35.

Benzo repeatedly says that he fed Nicolas II. "velut asinum in stabulo" (iii. 10; v. 1; vii. 2). Arnulph of Milan intimates that the popes were afraid of him, iv. 2. Benno, with his usual outrageousness, says that he beat

Alexander, and kept him on an allowance of five *solidi* a day, while he himself grew immensely rich on the spoils of the papacy. Ap. Goldast. Apol. pro Henr. IV.

^b Greg. Epp. i. 1-4.

^c Boniface III. had decreed, in 607, that nothing should be done for the election of a pope or of a bishop until after the see had been three days vacant. Anast. ap. Murat. iii. 135.

^d Bonizo, 811; Hard. vi. 1195. The scene seems to have taken place in the Lateran. Bowden, i. 311.

^e Baron. 1073. 25.

ciples of reformation of which Gregory VI. had been the representative and the confessor against the imperial power by which he had been deposed.

At the outset, however, Hildebrand had no wish prematurely to provoke that power. The proceedings which Alexander had commenced against Henry were allowed to drop; and, although the pope at once took on himself the full administration of his office,^f he sent notice of his election to the king, and waited for his confirmation of it. The German bishops, who knew that his influence had long governed the papacy, and dreaded his imperious character and his reforming tendencies, represented the dangers which might be expected from him; and two commissioners were despatched to Rome, with orders to inquire into the circumstances of the election, and, if any irregularity could be found, to compel Hildebrand to resign. The pope received them with honour; he stated that the papacy had been forced on him by a tumult, against his own desire, and that he had deferred his consecration until the choice should be approved by the king and princes of Germany. The commissioners reported to Henry that no informality could be discovered, and on St. Peter's day, 1073, Hildebrand was consecrated as the successor of the apostle.^g It was the last time that the imperial confirmation was sought for an election to the papacy.

In the letters which he wrote on his election, Hildebrand expresses a strong reluctance to undertake the burden of the dignity which had been thrust on him;^h and his professions have been often regarded as insincere. But this seems to be an injustice. Passionately devoted as he was to the cause which he had espoused, he may yet have preferred that his exertions for it should be carried on under the name of other men; he had so long exercised the reality of power in the names of others that he may have wished to keep up the same system to the end. If he had desired to be pope, why did he not take means to secure his election on some earlier vacancy? Why should we suppose that his promotion as the successor of Alexander was contrived by himself rather than that it was the natural effect of the impression which his character

^f Voigt, 184.

^g Lambert, p. 194 (who, however, wrongly puts the consecration on the Purification in the following year); Bonizo, 811; Planck, iv. 100-3, 113-5. A story, told by Bonizo (811), and more distinctly by Cardinal Aragon, two centuries later (Muratori, iii. 304)—that Hildebrand begged Henry not to confirm

his election, because, if pope, he would feel himself obliged to correct the king's vices—is generally rejected, as inconsistent with his letters of the time. See Schröckh, xxv. 432; Voigt, 169; Luden, viii. 703; Bowden, i. 319; Milman, iii. 94.

^h Epp. i. 1, seqq. 70.

and his labours had produced on the minds of the Roman clergy and people? And even if he thought that matters had reached a condition in which no one but himself could fitly guide the policy of the church, why should he not have felt a real unwillingness to undertake an office so onerous and so full of peril? His letters to princes and other great personages might indeed be suspected; but one which he addressed in January 1075 to his ancient friend and superior, Hugh of Cluny,ⁱ seems to breathe the sincere feeling of his heart. Like the first pope of his name, and in terms partly borrowed from him,^k he laments the sad condition of the church. The eastern church is failing from the faith, and is a prey to the Saracens. Westward, southward, northward, there is hardly a bishop to be seen, but such as have got their office by unlawful means, or are blameable in their lives, and devoted to worldly ambition; while among secular princes there is no one who prefers God's honour and righteousness to the advantages of this world. Those among whom he lives—Romans, Lombards, and Normans—are worse than Jews or pagans. He had often prayed God either to take him from the world or to make him the means of benefit to His church; the hope that he may be the instrument of gracious designs is all that keeps him at Rome or in life.

But, whatever may have been his private feelings, when raised to the pontificate, he entered on the prosecution of his schemes with increased energy. The corruptions of the church, which he traced to its connexion with the state, had led him to desire its independence; and it now appeared that under the name of independence he understood sovereign domination. In the beginning of his pontificate, he spoke of the spiritual and the secular powers as being like the two eyes in the human body, and therefore apparently on an equality;^m but afterwards they are compared to the sun and the moon respectivelyⁿ—a comparison more distinctly insisted on by Innocent III., and which gives a great superiority to the priesthood; and still later, (as we shall see hereafter)^o his representation as to the power of temporal sovereigns became of a far more depreciatory character. And, as he brought out with a new boldness the claims of the church against the state, it was equally his policy to assert a despotic power for the papacy against the rest of the church,^p while all his aggressive acts or claims were grounded on pretences of ancient and established right.^q The principles of his system are embodied in a set of propositions known

ⁱ Ep. ii. 49.^k See above, p. 3.^o P. 598.^p Gieseler, II. i. 5.^m Ep. i. 19.ⁿ Ep. vii. 25.^q Luden, viii. 541.

as his "Dictate,"^r which, although not drawn up by himself, contains nothing but what may be paralleled from his writings or from his actions.^s These maxims are far in advance of the forged decretals. It is laid down that the Roman pontiff alone is universal bishop; that his name is the only one of its kind in the world.^t To him alone it belongs to depose or to reconcile bishops, and he may depose them in their absence, and without the concurrence of a synod.^u He alone is entitled to frame new laws for the church—to divide, unite, or translate bishopricks.^x He alone may use the ensigns of empire; all princes are bound to kiss his feet; he has the right to depose emperors, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance.^y His power supersedes the diocesan authority of bishops.^z He may revise all judgments, and from his sentence there is no appeal.^a All appeals to him must be respected, and to him the greater causes of every church must be referred.^b With his leave, inferiors may accuse their superiors.^c No council may be styled general without his command.^d The Roman church never has erred, and, as Scripture testifies, never will err.^e The pope is above all judgment, and by the merits of St. Peter is undoubtedly rendered holy.^f The church, according to Gregory, was not to be the handmaid of princes, but their mistress; if she had received from God power to bind and to loose in heaven, much more must she have a like power over earthly things.^g His idea of the papacy combined something of the ancient Jewish theocracy with the imperial traditions of Rome.^h

Gregory boldly asserted that kingdoms were held as fiefs under St. Peter. From France he claims tribute as an ancient right; he says that Charlemagne acted as the pope's collector, and that he bestowed Saxony on the apostle.ⁱ He declared that Spain had of

^r Hard. vi. 1304.

^s Baronius, who sees nothing wrong in them, considers them genuine, and refers them to the council of 1076, at which Henry was excommunicated (1076. 31). Some Gallican writers (as Pagi, xvii. 454; Nat. Alex. xiii. Dissert. 3) have argued that they are not only spurious, but are an enemy's misrepresentation of Gregory; but this (although Mr. Bowden inclines to it, ii. 51) is generally regarded as a device suggested by the position of those writers (See Mosheim, ii. 336; Schröckh, xxv. 520; Planck, iv. 165; Voigt, 388). Dupin contents himself with saying that, if not by an enemy, they are the work of an "entêté" partisan (viii. 69). Gieseler observes that they look like the headings

of a set of canons passed at some synod under Gregory (II. ii. 7-8). See too Fleury, lxxiii. 12.

^t Cc. 2, 11. See Gieseler, II. ii. 8.

^u Ib. 3, 5. ^x 7, 13.

^y 8, 9, 12, 27. ^z 14, 15.

^a 18. ^b 20, 21.

^c 24. This was an infringement on the privileges secured to bishops by the forged decretals. See p. 269, and compare Peter Damiani, above, p. 516. Gregory wished to bring bishops more under the control of the papacy. Schmidt, ii. 297-8.

^d 16. ^e 22.

^f 19, 23.

^g Ep. iv. 2. Hard. vi. 1346.

^h Neander, vii. 112.

ⁱ Ep. viii. 23.

old belonged to St. Peter, although the memory of the connexion had been obscured during the Mahometan occupation: and on this ground he grants to the count of Roucy (near Rheims) all that he may be able to regain from the Arabs, to be held under the apostolic see.^k To Solomon, king of Hungary, he writes that that kingdom had been given by the holy Stephen to St. Peter; he rebukes him for taking investiture from the king of Germany, tells him that his reign will not be long, and in writing to the next king, Geisa, he traces Solomon's fall to this unworthy submission.^m He makes similar claims to Bohemia,ⁿ to Denmark,^o to Poland,^p to Provence, Corsica, Sardinia, and England.^q By conferring the title of king on the duke of Dalmatia, he binds him to be the vassal of the holy see; ^r and, where he does not pretend an ancient right, he offers to princes—even to the sovereign of Russia among them—a new and a better title from St. Peter.^s The sternness of his resolution to carry out his principles was expressed by a frequent citation of a text from Jeremiah—"Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood."^t But in his dealings with princes, he showed nothing of that fanaticism which leads to a disregard of persons and of circumstances. He could temporise with the strong, while he bent all his strength against the weak. He was careful to strike where his blows might be most effective.

Philip I. of France had succeeded his father at the age of seven, and, with a natural character far inferior to that of
A.D. 1060. Henry IV., had grown up in a like freedom from wholesome restraint, and in a like want of moral training.^u Gregory, soon after his election, wrote to the king, censuring the disorders of his government.^v Philip answered submissively, and promised amendment, but took little pains to fulfil his promise. On this Gregory wrote to some French bishops and nobles, in terms of the severest denunciation against their sovereign. Philip, he said, was not a king but a tyrant—a greedy wolf, an enemy of God and man. By the persuasion of the devil he had reached the height of iniquity in the sale of ecclesiastical preferments; he paid no regard

^k Epp. i. 7; iv. 28. See Baron. 1073. 36, as to the expeditions of French adventurers in Spain.

^m Epp. ii. 13, 63, 70.

ⁿ Ib. 7.

^o Ib. 51, 75.

^p Ib. 73.

^q See below, c. v.

^r See Epp. vii. 4.

^s Ep. ii. 74; ix. 3 (for Bavaria).

^t Jer. xlviii. 10. But his explanations render the words less alarming: "Hoc

est, qui verbum predicationis a carnalium hominum retinet increpatione" (Ep. ii. 5); "i.e. verbum predicationis a carnalium vitæ interfectione" (iii. 4); "verbum correctionis a prave viventium increpatione" (iv. 1); "qui doctrinam subtrahit ab occisione carnalis vitæ" (vii. 23).

^u Sismondi, iv. 381.

^x Ep. i. 35.

to either Divine or human laws; a loose was given to perjury, adultery, sacrilege, and all manner of vices, and the king not only encouraged these but set the example of them. Nay, not content with this, he even robbed foreign merchants who visited his dominions—an outrage unheard of among the very pagans. The bishops were charged to remonstrate, and were assured that their obligations of fealty bound them not to overlook the king's misdeeds, but to reprove them; the kingdom must not be ruined by "one most abandoned man."^y Gregory told Philip himself that France had sunk into degradation and contempt; he threatened to excommunicate and interdict him, to withdraw the obedience of his subjects, to leave nothing undone in order to wrest the kingdom from him, unless he repented.^z

Yet all this ended in nothing. Philip was too indolent to enter into a direct conflict with the pope; he allowed the Roman legates to hold synods and to exercise discipline in his dominions; but he grudged the diminution of his revenues by their proceedings, and, when he found that they especially interfered with his patronage or his profit in the appointment or deposition of bishops and abbots, he opposed them with a sullen and dogged resistance.^a Gregory repeatedly wrote to him, admonished him, and expressed hopes of his amendment.^b No amendment followed; but the pope was too deeply engaged in other business, and too much dreaded the spirit of the French nation—in which the nobles were gradually rallying round the throne, while the church was more united than that of Germany—to take any steps for the correction of the king.^c

While Gregory spared Philip, and while (as we shall see hereafter)^d he dreaded William of England and Normandy, he turned his most vigorous efforts against the king of Germany, the expectant of the empire. If he could humble the highest and proudest of crowns, the victory would tell on all other sovereigns; and the papacy in its greatest strength was measured against the empire in its weakness.

Germany was now in a miserable state of distraction. The young king had given much just cause of discontent, while his subjects were not disposed to limit their demands within the bounds of reason. The garrisons of the Saxon and Thuringian fortresses excited by their outrages the most violent indignation of the people, and the complaints which were addressed to Henry against them

^y Ep. i. 35; ii. 5.

^z Ep. i. 36, 56; ii. 16, 32.

^a Sismondi, iv. 440, 442, 459.

^b Id. g. Ep. viii. 20.

^c Sismondi, iv. 474; Voigt, 102, 291-3.

^d C. v.

were received with scorn and mockery.^e Sometimes he refused to see the deputies who were sent to him;^f it is said that on one occasion, when some envoys waited on him at Goslar by his own appointment, they were detained in his antechamber all day, while he played at dice, and at length were told that he had retired by another way.^g It was believed that the king intended to reduce the Saxons to slavery, and to seize on their country for his own domain. The whole population rose in frenzy; a confederacy was formed which included the primate Siegfried, with the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld, and a leader was found in Otho of Nordheim. Both among princes and among prelates many were ready to disguise their selfish ambition under the cloak of patriotism and religion; and loud cries were raised for a new king.^h The exasperation of the Saxons was yet further increased when Henry endeavoured to engage the barbarians of the north—Poles, Luticians, and Danes—to take up arms against them.

Gregory in the beginning of his pontificate wrote to Godfrey of Tuscanyⁱ and to other relations of Henry, entreating them to use their influence for the king's amendment. Henry, feeling the difficulties of his position, and not suspecting the extent of the great scheme for the exaltation of the papacy at the cost of the empire, addressed the pope in a tone of deference; he regretted his past misconduct—his encouragement of simony, his negligence in punishing offenders; he owned himself unworthy to be called the son of the church, and requested Gregory to aid him in appeasing the distractions of Milan, where a new claimant, Tedald, nominated by the king at the request of the citizens, who disowned both Godfrey and Atto,^k was now engaged in a contest for the archbishoprick with Atto and the faction of Herlembald.^m

The troubles of Germany increased. In March 1074, an agreement was extorted from Henry that the hated fortresses should be destroyed. The castle of Harzburg was that in which he took an especial pride, and which was naturally most obnoxious to the people. It included a church, which, although built of

^e Lambert, pp. 194, 196, 231-4.

^f *Ib.* 224.

^g Bruno de Bello Saxon. ap. Pertz, v. 336. This is placed on St Peter's Day, 1073, the day of Gregory's consecration. But the bitterness of Bruno's enmity against Henry renders the story very questionable. See Luden, viii. 707; Floto, i. 363.

^h Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 201.

ⁱ Ep. i. 9.

^k Luden, ix. 36.

^m The letter (Hard. vi. 1220) has been questioned; but see Voigt, 190. For the Milanese troubles, Landulph, iii. 32; Pagi, xvii. 418. Herlembald was killed in a street affray, April, 1075 (Arnulph, iv. 10). He was canonized by Urban II. Pagi, xviii. 42.

wood, was splendidly adorned; a college of monks was attached to the building, and in the vaults reposed the bodies of the king's brother and infant son. Henry dismantled the fortifications, in the hope of saving the rest; but the infuriated peasantry destroyed the church, scattered the royal bones and the sacred relics, carried off the costly vessels, and proceeded to demolish other fortresses in the same tumultuary manner.ⁿ The Saxon princes endeavoured to appease the king's indignation by representing to him that these outrages were committed without their sanction, and by promising to punish the ringleaders; but he refused to listen to their apologies, declared that the Saxons were not to be bound by any treaties, and complained to the pope of the sacrileges which had been committed at the Harzburg.^o About the same time the tumultuous spirit of the Germans showed itself in outbreaks in various quarters. The citizens of Cologne expelled their archbishop, Hamo, but he soon reduced them to submission, and punished them with characteristic severity.^p

In April 1074, Gregory sent the empress-mother Agnes, who was now entirely devoted to the papacy, attended by four bishops, on an embassy into Germany. They were received at Nuremberg by Henry, who, out of deference to his mother, consented to dismiss his five excommunicated counsellors; but he was surprised at finding that they required him to do penance for simony, inasmuch as, since he had himself undertaken the government, the practice of selling preferments had been almost entirely abandoned. He was, however, disposed to accede to the pope's intended measures against simoniacs, as he hoped by such means to get rid of some bishops who had opposed him in the Saxon troubles.^q It was proposed that a council should be held in Germany, under a legate, with a view to investigating the cases of bishops suspected of having obtained their promotion by unlawful means. The primate Siegfried—a mean, selfish, and pusillanimous prelate—made no objection. But Liemar, of Bremen, a man of very high character for piety, learning, and integrity, declared that the proposal was an infringement on the rights of the national church; that, in the absence of the pope, the archbishop of Mentz alone was entitled to preside over German councils, as perpetual legate of the holy see. For this Liemar was suspended by the envoys, was cited to Rome, and, as he did not appear, was excommunicated by

ⁿ Lambert, pp. 210-1; Bruno, 334,
340; Voigt, 258, 262.

^o Lambert, p. 211.

^p Ib. 212-5; Voigt, 266-275.

^q Lambert, 215-6; Voigt, 276;
Luden, viii. 552-7.

Gregory, who wrote to him a letter of severe rebuke; and other prelates who took part with him were suspended until they should clear themselves before the pope.^r Agnes and her companions were dismissed by the king with gifts, and were assured that he would aid the pope in his endeavours to suppress simony.^s

Gregory still had hopes of using Henry as an ally. In December 1074 he addressed to him two letters—the one, thanking him for his promise of co-operation;^t the other, remarkable as announcing the project of a crusade. The pope states that fifty thousand men, from both sides of the Alps, were ready to march against the infidels of the east if he would be their leader; that he earnestly wishes to undertake the expedition, more especially as it holds out a hope of reconciliation with the Greek church; and that, if he should go, Henry must in his absence guard the church as a mother, and defend her honour.^u

In the mean time the pope's measures of reform were producing a violent commotion in the church. Gregory was resolved to proceed with vigour in the suppression of simony and of marriage among the clergy. Like Peter Damiani, he included under the name of simony all lay patronage of benefices; that which is given to God (it was said) is given for ever, so that the donor can thenceforth have no further share in the disposal of it.^x In enforcing celibacy on the clergy, he was probably influenced in part by his strict monastic ideas, and in part by considerations of policy. By binding the clergy to single life, he might hope to detach them from their kindred and from society, to destroy in them the feeling of nationality, to consolidate them into a body devoted to the papacy, and owing allegiance to it rather than to the temporal sovereigns under whom they enjoyed the benefits of law and government, to preserve in the hierarchy wealth which might have readily escaped from its hands by the channels of family and social connexions.

At his first synod, in Lent 1074, canons were passed against simony and clerical marriage. The clergy who were guilty of such practices were to be debarred from all functions in the church; the

^r Lambert, 216; Bonizo, 811; Greg. Ep. ii. 28.

^s Bonizo, 811; Berthold, A.D. 1074, ap. Pertz, v.

^t ii. 30.

^u Ep. ii. 31. Ep. ii. 37 is an invitation to all Christians to join the crusade. In another quarter we find Gregory corresponding with a Mahometan king,

Anzir of Mauritania, in terms which recall the opinion of the latitudinarian party among the Spaniards as to the agreement of the two religions (see p. 358). Ep. iii. 21.

^x Placidus of Nonantula (one of Hildebrand's party), quoted by Schmidt, ii. 292.

laity were charged to refuse their ministrations; it was declared that their blessing was turned into a curse, and their prayer into sin—that disobedience to this mandate was idolatry and paganism.^y Even if such enactments did not directly contradict the long recognised principle of the church, that the validity of sacraments does not depend on the character of the minister, their effect was practically the same; for it mattered not whether the sacraments were annulled, or whether the laity were told that attendance on them was sinful.^z The charge to the laity had, indeed, already been given by Nicolas and by Alexander; but the decrees of those popes appear to have been little known or enforced beyond the bounds of Italy,^a and to the north of the Alps the canon against the marriage of the clergy was received as something wholly new. In Germany it aroused a general feeling of indignation among the clergy. They declared that it was unwarranted by Scripture or by the ancient church; that the pope was heretical and insane for issuing such an order, in contradiction to the Saviour and to St. Paul;^b that he required the clergy to live like angels rather than men, while at the same time he opened the door to all impurity; that they would rather renounce their priesthood than their wives.^c Some bishops openly defied the pope—not from any personal interest, but because they felt for the misery which his measures would inflict on the clergy, their wives, and their families. Otho, of Constance, one of Henry's excommunicated counsellors, who had before tolerated the marriage of his clergy, now put forth a formal sanction of it.^d Altmann, of Passau, in publishing the decree, was nearly killed.^e The primate, Siegfried, on being required to promulgate it, desired his clergy to put away their wives within six months. As the order was ineffectual, he held a synod at Erfurt, in October 1074, where he required them to renounce either their wives or their ministry, and at the same

^y The acts of the council are lost, but its decrees are partly known from a defence of it by Bernold of Constance (ap. Hard. vi. 1523, seqq.) That against marriage is preserved by Gratian. Gieseler, II. ii. 12.

^z Siegb. Gembl. Ann. 1074 (Pertz, vi.); Schröckh, xxv. 443; Bowden, ii. 25. It is not easy to see how the words as to the change of blessing into a curse can be regarded as meaning less than that the sacraments are invalid, and the decree seems clearly to contradict the council of Gangra (see vol. i. p. 291). The apologist attempts to de-

fend it by citing prohibitions against communicating with heretical teachers. Hard. vi. 1541.

^a Bernold, Ann. 1073 (ap. Pertz, v.) says that Gregory forbade throughout the Catholic church what his predecessors had forbidden in Italy.

^b St. Matth. xix. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 9.

^c Lambert, 218. That by Gallia Lambert means Germany, is clear from pp. 238, 255.

^d Paul Bernried. Vita Gregorii, 37, 41; Theiner, 183; Luden, viii. 563.

^e Vita Altm. c. 11, ap. Pertz, xii. 232.

time he revived his ancient claim to tithes, which the Thuringians supposed to have been relinquished. A band of armed Thuringians broke in, and the council was dissolved in confusion.^f Siegfried requested that the pope would modify his orders, but received in answer a rebuke for his want of courage and a command to enforce them all.^g A second council was held at Mentz, in October 1075; but, notwithstanding the presence of a Roman legate, the clergy were so furious in their language, their looks and their gestures, that Siegfried was glad to escape alive. Having no inclination to sacrifice himself for another man's views, he declared that the pope must carry out his schemes for himself, and was content with ordering that in future no married man should be promoted to ecclesiastical office, and with exacting a promise of celibacy from those whom he ordained.^h In France, the excitement was equally great. A council at Paris, in 1074, cried out that the new decrees were intolerable and irrational; Walter, abbot of Pont-Isère, who attempted to defend them, was beaten, spit on, and imprisoned.ⁱ Gregory in one of his letters mentions a report (for which, however, there is no other authority) that a monk had been burnt at Cambrai for publishing the prohibition of marriage.^k

Gregory was undaunted by the agitation which had arisen. Finding that little assistance could be expected from synods, he sent legates into all quarters with orders to enforce the decrees. To these legates he applied the text—"He that heareth you, heareth me;" wherever they appeared, they were the highest ecclesiastical authorities; and bishops trembled before the deacons and subdeacons who were invested with the pope's commission to control, to judge, and to depose them.^m The monks, his sure allies in such a cause, were active in spreading the knowledge of the decrees among the people, and in stirring them up by their invectives against the clergy.ⁿ If bishops opposed his measures, he absolved their flocks from the obligation of obedience,^o and he avowed the intention of bringing public opinion to bear on such clergymen as should be impenetrable to his views of their duty to

^f Lambert, 218-9.

^g Ep. iii. 4. Sept. 3, 1075.

^h Lambert, 230; Schröckh, xxv. 446; Voigt, 283.

ⁱ Vita S. Galterii, c. 10. ap. Mabillon, ix.

^k Ep. iv. 20.

^l De Marca, VI. xxx. 3-10; Schmidt, ii. 516; Voigt, 237, 230; Gieseler, II. ii. 14. The legates were to be main-

tained at the expense of the countries to which they were sent, and their rapacity soon became a subject of frequent complaints. De Marca.

^m Neander, vii. 133-4.

ⁿ Ep. ad Teutonas, ap. Paul Bernr. c. 41; ad Constantienses, ib. c. 38. Otho of Constance was expelled from his see. Pagi, xvii. 401.

God and to religion.^p The effects of thus setting the people against their pastors were fearful. In some cases the laity took part with the denounced clergy;^q but more commonly they rose against them, and with violence and insult drove them, with their wives and children, from their homes. A general confusion followed; the ordinances of religion were deserted, or were profaned and invaded by laymen,^r and the contempt of the clergy thus generated contributed greatly to the increase of anti-hierarchical and heretical sects.^s

Gregory could the better afford to be calm, because the troubles excited by his decree as to celibacy distracted the general attention from a yet more important part of his designs, and weakened the influence of a large party among the clergy whose opposition he had reason to expect.^t At the outset of his pontificate he had not attacked the practice of investiture. Anselm, the favourite chaplain and adviser of the countess Matilda, on being nominated to the see of Lucca, consulted him on the subject. The pope advised him not to take investiture from Henry until the king should have dismissed his excommunicated counsellors and should have been reconciled to the Roman church;^u but he did not object to the ceremony of investiture in itself, and, at Henry's request, he deferred the consecration of Anselm and of Hugh, who had been elected to the bishoprick of Die, until they should have been invested by the king.^x But at the Lent synod of 1075 (where the censures of the church were pronounced against many of Henry's partisans), Gregory issued a decree that no ecclesiastic should take investiture from lay hands, and that no lay potentate should confer investiture.^y Investiture, as we have seen, although it originated

^p Ep. iv. 20; P. Bernr. c. 36.

^q Theiner, ii. 209.

^r "Infantes baptizant sordido humore aurium pro sacro oleo et chrismate utentes." The people trod under foot the Lord's body, consecrated by married priests, and spilt the eucharistic wine. Sigeb. Gembl. Ann. 1074, ap. Pertz, vi.

^s *Ib.*; Schmidt, ii. 485. One evidence of this is that the name of Patarines, originally applied to a papal party, came to denote sectaries. Neander, vii. 136-7. See Mosh. ii. 341; Gieseler, II. ii. 17; Theiner, ii. 252.

^t Planck, iv. 145-9, 155; Voigt, 290.

^u Ep. i. 21 (Sept. i. 1073). Anselm, after having been invested by Henry, was led, by intercourse with Gregory (who had before thought indifferently of him, Ep. i. 11) and by reading the

canons, to condemn his past life, and to enter a monastery as a penitent. Gregory recalled him, gave him papal investiture, and afterwards found him one of his most zealous and most useful adherents. Vita Anselm. Lucens. 3-4, ap. Pertz, xii. with the preface by Wilmaus, p. 1.

^x Hugo Floriac. ap. Pertz, viii. 411, quoted in note on Vit. Anselm. Comp. Ep. iv. 22, as to a Bishop of Cambray.

^y By some the decree has been placed in 1074, and it has been thought that Gregory delayed the publication of it until he was encouraged by the course of the Saxon war (Schröckh, xxv. 455; Schmidt, ii. 306). I have followed Pagi, xvii. 409; Voigt, 306; Stenzel, i. 462; and Jaffé. That Mosheim (ii. 495) is mistaken in supposing the prohibition to relate to the use of the ring and the staff

before the feudal system,^z had long been interpreted according to the principles of feudalism.^a Its defenders rested it on the ground that it related to the temporalities only; they argued that, if bishops and abbots were to enjoy these, they ought, like other holders of property, to acknowledge the superiority of the liege-lord, and to be subject to the usual feudal obligations. The opposite party replied that the temporalities were annexed to the spiritual office, as the body to the soul, and that, if laymen could not confer the spiritualities, they ought not to meddle with the disposal of their appendages.^b The abolition of investiture would effectually prevent the sale of preferments by princes;^c but this was not all. On investiture depended the power of sovereigns over prelates, their right to expect feudal service from them; if there were no fealty, there could be no treason.^d The patronage which was taken from sovereigns would pass into other hands; the prelates would transfer their allegiance from the crown to the pope.

Gregory knew that his decree was sure to be opposed by all the clergy who depended on the patronage of laymen—from the prelates of the imperial court to the chaplain of the most inconsiderable noble—and that, in addition to these, there were many who would oppose him, not from any selfish motive, but from the belief that his measure was an invasion of the lawful rights of princes.^e For a time he hardly mentioned the new canon in his letters; the publication of it was chiefly left to his legates;^f and sovereigns, as if in a contemptuous affectation of ignorance as to the new pretensions of Rome, continued to invest bishops and abbots as before.^g

At Christmas, 1075, an extraordinary outrage was perpetrated by Cencius, who has been already mentioned. This man, after having been anathematised by Alexander II., on account of his connexion with Cadalous, effected a reconciliation with Alexander, and continued to reside at Rome. The city was scandalised and disquieted by his irregularities, which had often brought him into collision with the government; he had even been condemned to death, and had been pardoned only through the intercession of the Countess Matilda; but he had great wealth and influence, and possessed several fortified houses, which were garrisoned by a force

only—not to investiture in itself—see Schröckh, xxv. 456; Schmidt, ii. 290; Planck, iv. 131-2; Voigt, 308.

^z See page 469.

^a Planck, iv. 128.

^b Placidus of Nonantula, quoted by

Schmidt, ii. 292.

^c Voigt, 178.

^d Milman, iii. 139.

^e Planck, iv. 144.

^f Luden, viii. 573; Voigt, 312.

^g Planck, iv. 141-2; Voigt, 318.

of desperate ruffians.^h On Christmas eve, Gregory proceeded to the church of St. Mary Major, for the midnight mass which ushers in the celebration of the Saviour's birth. In consequence of tempestuous weather the congregation was small. Gregory was in the act of administering the holy elements when the church was suddenly invaded by Cencius with a party of his retainers. The worshippers were borne down; some of them were stabbed with daggers. The pope was rudely seized, was dragged by the hair, and beaten; a sword, aimed at him with the intention of despatching him, wounded him in the forehead; he was stripped of a part of his robes, and carried off on the back of one of the villains to a tower belonging to Cencius. All this he bore with perfect composure, neither struggling to escape, nor asking for mercy. During the night he was exposed to the insults of the gang into whose hands he had fallen; but he found sympathy from a man who endeavoured to protect him with furs against the piercing cold, and from a woman who bathed his wound. It was intended to send him privately out of the city; but in the course of the night the clergy, who had been with him at the time of the assault, spread the news of his captivity. The people of Rome were roused by the sound of bells and trumpets, the gates were watched so that no one could go out, and a vast multitude gathered around the tower of Cencius, demanding the release of their pastor. A breach was made in the wall, and the besiegers were preparing to set the place on fire, when Cencius, in abject terror, threw himself at the feet of his prisoner, and entreated forgiveness. "I pardon what thou hast done against myself," Gregory calmly replied; "as for thy offences against God, His Mother, and the Church, I enjoin on thee a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that, if thou return alive, thou be guided in future by my counsels." The pope, covered with blood, was received with exultation by the crowd, and was carried back to the church, to resume the interrupted rites, and to pour forth a thanksgiving for his deliverance.ⁱ Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, formerly chancellor of Italy, and still Henry's ablest and most active partisan in that country, was suspected of having instigated the attempt of Cencius, and was ordered to leave Rome.^k Cencius, forgetting his promises of amendment, soon incurred a fresh excommunication, and fled to Henry at Pavia, where he died,

^h Paul Bernr. 45-6; Bonizo, 811-3; 242.
Lambert, 242.

^k Bonizo, 812; P. Bernr. 48, 57;

ⁱ Paul Bernr. 49-56; Lambert, p. Voigt, 360-1.

and was buried by Guibert with a pomp which gave countenance to the suspicions against the archbishop.^m

The divisions of Germany had become more desperate. The king and the Saxons had each invoked the pope. Henry demanded the deposition of the prelates who had opposed him. The Saxons declared that such a king was unworthy to reign, and entreated Gregory to sanction the election of another in his room.ⁿ Henry had been greatly strengthened and elated by a victory over the Saxons at Hohenberg, on the Unstrut, in June, 1075. The pope, on that occasion, wrote to him, "As to the pride of the Saxons, which, by God's judgment, has been crushed before your face, we must both rejoice for the peace of the church, and grieve because much Christian blood has been spilt."^o He exhorted him to employ his success rather with a view to the Divine honour than to his own; but the advice was disregarded, and the king, by the abuse of his triumph, had added to the miseries and grievances of the conquered people.^p

A short time before the outrage of Cencius, ambassadors from Henry arrived at Rome; and on their return they were accompanied by envoys charged with a letter from Gregory to the king.^q The address was conditional: "Health and apostolical benediction—if, however, he obey the apostolic see as a Christian king ought." The letter explained that Henry's conduct had given cause for this doubtful form; he was censured for intercourse with excommunicate persons, for nominating and investing bishops to several sees—among them Tedald to Milan. But as to investiture, the pope offers to meet the king's wishes if any tolerable way of accommodation can be pointed out. The bearers of the letter were instructed to proceed according as it should be received; if Henry were contumacious, they were to cite him, under pain of excommunication, to answer for his misdeeds at a synod which was to be held at Rome in the following Lent.^r He had already been warned by a private mission, that, unless he would reform, he would be excommunicated.^s

The reception of the pope's letter was such that the envoys felt themselves bound to deliver the citation. The king was in great

^m Bonizo, 816; Milman, iii. 147.

ⁿ Othert, ap. Goldast. *Apologia pro Henrico*, 208, or c. 3, ap. Pertz, xii.; Voigt, 368.

^o Ep. iii. 7.

^p Bernold, *Ann.* 1075; Lambert, p. 227.

^q Ep. iii. 10. The date, Jan. 8, 1076, is inconsistent with the course of events. Luden (ix. 566) shows that it reached Henry on Jan. 1, and, with Voigt (369), refers it to the beginning of December.

^r Lambert, p. 241; Voigt, 372.

^s Berthold, p. 280.

indignation; he sent them away with contempt, and summoned the bishops and abbots of Germany to a council at Worms. Jan. 24, All but a few Saxon bishops attended, and the feeling of 1076. the assembly was highly excited. One course only appeared to be open to Henry, unless he were disposed to absolute submission; as obedience to the pope had from the first been a part of German Christianity, the only means of setting aside the authority of Gregory was by repudiating his claim to the apostolic see.[†] An ally was found in Cardinal Hugh the White—the same who had taken so conspicuous a part in the elevation of Hildebrand to the pontificate. Hugh, a man of great ability and skilful in business, but versatile and utterly unprincipled, had lately been deprived by Gregory for conniving at simony, and for the third time laid under anathema.[‡] He now produced letters which are said to have been forged in the name of the Roman cardinals, charging the pope with a multitude of offences, and demanding his deposition; and to these Hugh added a violent invective of his own. Gregory was reproached with the lowness of his birth; he was accused of having obtained the papacy by bribery and violence—of simony, magic, praying to the devil.[§] Although the charges were for the most part so monstrous as to be wholly incredible, the German prelates were in no mood to criticise them, and, headed by Siegfried, pronounced the deposition of Hildebrand. Two bishops only, Adalbero of Würzburg and Hermann of Metz, objected that, as no bishop could be condemned without a regular trial, much less could a pope, against whom not even a bishop or an archbishop could be admitted as accuser. But William of Utrecht, one of the ablest and boldest of Henry's party, told them that they must either subscribe the condemnation of Gregory or renounce their allegiance to the king, and they submitted.[¶]

On the breaking up of the council, Henry wrote to the Romans a letter in which was embodied the substance of one addressed to Gregory. He begs them to reckon his enemies as their own enemies, "and especially the monk Hildebrand," whom he charges with attempting to rob him of his Italian kingdom, and of his hereditary rights in the appointment to the papacy—with having declared himself resolved either to die or to deprive him both of his crown and of his life. The Romans are desired not to kill Hildebrand, since life, after degradation, would be the severest punishment for

[†] Milman, iii. 149.

[‡] Donizo, Vita Mathild. i. 1280. ap.

Pertz, xii.; Bonizo, 807-810.

[§] P. Bernr. 67; Lambert, p. 242;

Voigt, 376.

[¶] Lambert, p. 242.

him; but if he should make any resistance to the decree of deposition, they are to thrust him out by force, and are to receive from the king a new pope, able and willing to heal the wounds which Hildebrand had caused. His letter to the pope was addressed, "To Hildebrand, now not Apostolic, but a false Monk." It taxed him in violent terms with a multitude of offences and enormities. "We bore with these things," said the king, "out of respect for the apostolic see. But you mistook our humility for fear, and rose against the royal power itself which God had granted to us—as if we had received the kingdom from you, and as if it were in your hand, not in God's." And he peremptorily charged Hildebrand to descend from the chair of which he was unworthy.^z The bishops also wrote a letter to "brother Hildebrand," in which they charged him with throwing the church into confusion. His beginning had been bad, his progress worse; he had been guilty of cruelty and pride; he had attempted to deprive bishops of the power committed to them by God, and had given up everything to the fury of the multitude. He had obtained the papacy by the breach of his oath to the late emperor; his intimacy with the Countess Matilda is censured as improper; and the bishops conclude by solemnly renouncing him.^a The prelates of Lombardy, in a council at Piacenza, confirmed the proceedings of their brethren at Worms, and swore never to acknowledge Hildebrand as pope.^b

In February, the customary Lenten synod met at Rome. It is Feb. 21-2, said that the members were pondering on the appearance 1076. of an extraordinary egg which had lately been produced—displaying the figures of a serpent and a shield^c—when Roland, a canon of Parma,^d who had been despatched from the council of Piacenza, entered the assembly, and delivered the king's letter to Gregory. "My lord the king," he said, "and all the bishops, both beyond the mountains and in Italy, charge thee forthwith to quit St. Peter's seat which thou hast invaded; for it is not fit that any one should ascend to such an honour unless by their command and by the imperial gift." Then, turning to the assembled prelates, he summoned them to appear before the king at Whitsuntide, that

^z The letters are in Bruno de Bello Saxon. (Pertz, v. 352); also in the Leges, ii. 46-7. That actually sent to the pope differs somewhat from the one of which a copy was sent to the Romans.

^a Pertz, Leges, ii. 44-8.

^b See Stenzel, i. 382.

^c P. Bernr. c. 38; Donizo, l. i. c. 19.

^d Berthold, p. 262. "Ex officina iniquitatis, scilicet Parmensi civitate," says Bonizo, §14. Parma was the church to which Cadalous and Gilbert had belonged. Roland was soon after made bishop of Treviso by Henry, and was placed under perpetual anathema by Gregory in 1078. Voigt, 455.

they might receive from his hands a new pope instead of the ravening wolf who had usurped the apostolic chair. The synod was thrown into confusion. "Seize him!" cried the bishop of Porto; and Roland might have paid for his rashness with his life, had not the pope warded off the swords of his soldiery by interposing his own body. Gregory stilled the tempest, and calmly desired that the king's letter should be read.^e The bishops entreated him to pronounce the judgment which Henry had deserved, and on the following day the excommunication was uttered. The pope ordered that the canons against despisers of the apostolic see should be recited; he alluded to the portentous egg, of which the late scene now suggested an explanation; he recounted Henry's misdeeds, and the failure of all attempts to reclaim him. Now that the king had attacked the foundations of the church, it was time to draw forth the sword of vengeance, and to strike down the enemy of God and of His church; and, in accordance with the desire of the assembled fathers, he pronounced sentence on Henry in the form of an address to St. Peter. The pope called the apostle to witness that he had not sought the papacy, or obtained it by any unlawful means; and, by the power of binding and loosing committed to him, he declared Henry to be deprived of the government of Germany and Italy, released all Christians from their oaths of fealty to him, and placed him under the curse of the church. The rebellious bishops of Lombardy were suspended and excommunicated; those who had taken part in the proceedings at Worms were placed under a like sentence, unless within a certain time they should prove that their concurrence had been unwilling.^f The empress Agnes was present, and heard the condemnation of her son.^g

Gregory announced the excommunication and deposition of Henry in letters to the people of Germany and to all Christians.^h The report of the sentence reached the king at Utrecht, where he was keeping the season of Easter. At first he was greatly agitated, but the bishop, William, succeeded in persuading him to put on an appearance of indifference, and he resolved to meet his condemnation by a counter-anathema on the pope. Two bishops, Pibo of Toul and Dietrich of Verdun, although strong partisans of the king, were afraid to share in such a step, and left Utrecht by night. But on Easter-day, at high mass, William ascended the pulpit of

^e On the discrepancies as to the order of proceedings, see Bowden, ii. 106; Luden, ix. 66.

^f P. Bernr. 69-76; Hard. vi. 1566. See Luden, ix. 66.

^g Berthold, 263; Letter of Agnes to Altmann of Passau, ap. Hug. Flavi. Pertz, viii. 435.

^h Epp. iii. 6; iv. 1; Bruno, 354-6; P. Bernr. 77-8.

his cathedral, and, after a fiery invective, pronounced a ban against Hildebrand.¹ The Lombard bishops, on being informed of Gregory's sentence against them, held another synod, under the presidency of Guibert, and renewed their condemnation of the pope.²

The unexampled measure^m on which Gregory had ventured rent all Germany into two hostile parties. No medium was possible between holding with the pope against the king and holding with the king against the pope.ⁿ Hermann of Metz ventured to report to Gregory that his right to excommunicate a king was questioned; to which he replied^o that the charge given by our Lord to St. Peter—"Feed my sheep"—made no distinction between kings and other men. He cited examples from history—the behaviour of St. Ambrose to Theodosius, and the deposition of Childeric by Zacharias;^p and, in answer to the opinion that the royal power was superior to the episcopal, he declared that royalty was invented by human pride, whereas priesthood was instituted by the Divine mercy.

Henry soon found that his power was ebbing from him. Destitute as Gregory was of any material force, he had left his decree to find for itself the means of its execution; yet in this he did not rely wholly on the belief of his spiritual power. The sentence of deposition against Henry was addressed to subjects among whom a disaffected and rebellious spirit had long prevailed. The pope was sure to find an ally in every one who had been offended by the king himself, by his guardians, or by his father; all were glad to welcome the religious sanction which was thus given to their patriotism, their vindictiveness, or their ambition.^q The wrath of heaven was believed to have been visibly declared against Henry's cause. Godfrey "the Hunchbacked," duke of Lorraine, who had undertaken to seat an imperialist anti-pope in St. Peter's chair,^r had been assassinated at Antwerp in the beginning of the year.^s The bishop of Utrecht, soon after his display of vehemence against Gregory on Easter-day, fell sick; it was rumoured that he saw devils in his frenzy,—that he died unhouselled, and in raving

¹ Hug. Flav. ap. Pertz, viii. 458.

² Stenzel, i. 387; Voigt, 395.

^m See Otto Frising. vi. 35, ap. Urstis. i.; Nat. Alex. xiii. Dissert. 9.

ⁿ Voigt, 393.

^o Ep. iv. 2.

^p That this was a misrepresentation of the case, see p. 115. It is exposed by Waltram, bishop of Norimberg, in his answer to Gregory, "De unitate Ecclesiastica," ap. Freher, i. 156-8, 175.

^q Hallam, M. A., i. 432; Voigt, 423; Milman, iii. 154.

^r Berthold, p. 284.

^s This Godfrey, the husband of Matilda, succeeded his father in 1069 (Berthold, A.D. 1069), and was murdered by the contrivance of Count Robert of Flanders, Feb. 26, 1076 (Lambert, p. 243). Stenzel gives him a high character, i. 334.

despair.^t Others of the king's partisans were also carried off about the same time, and their deaths were interpreted as judgments.^u A spirit of disaffection became general. Henry summoned diets, but few appeared at them; some of the princes, whose policy had hitherto been doubtful, now openly declared themselves against him.^x Udo, archbishop of Treves, who had taken part in proceedings at Worms, went to Italy, made his peace with the pope, and on his return avoided all intercourse with the excommunicated bishops and counsellors, while, although specially permitted by Gregory to confer with the king, in the hope of bringing him to submission, he refused to eat or to pray with him. The example was contagious; Henry found himself deserted and shunned, and his attempts to conciliate his opponents by lenient measures were ineffectual.^y The pope, in answer to a letter from the Saxons, told them that, if Henry should refuse to amend, they ought to choose a successor, who should be confirmed in the kingdom by the apostolic authority.^z

In October a great assembly of German dignitaries met at Tribur. The leaders of the princes and nobles were Rudolph of Swabia, Welf of Bavaria, Berthold of Zähringen, and Otho of Nordheim; at the head of the prelates was the primate Siegfried. The patriarch of Aquileia and Altmann, bishop of Passau, appeared as legates from the pope, and made a strong impression by declaring that they must avoid all intercourse with such bishops as had not obtained formal absolution for their concurrence in the acts of the council of Worms.^a The sessions lasted seven days. All the errors, the misdeeds, the calamities of Henry's life were ript up and dwelt on; a determination to depose him was loudly avowed. The king, who was at Oppenheim, on the opposite side of the Rhine, sent messages to the assembly day after day. His tone became even abject; he promised amendment, and offered to bind himself by the most solemn pledges; he entreated them to spare him, he offered to resign into their hands all the powers of government, if they would but suffer him to enjoy the name and the ensigns of royalty, which, as they had been

^t The story is given, with some variety of details, by Hug. Flav. ap. Pertz, viii. 458; P. Bernr. c. 80; Lambert, p. 244; Bruno, p. 361; Bernold, Ann. 1076, &c.

^u Bruno, 361-2. On the other hand, it was said that when Gregory pronounced his sentence, the chair on

which he had been sitting cracked, although new and strongly made. Benno, ap. Goldast, Apolog. pro Henr. p. 3.

^x Stenzel, i. 391; Luden, ix. 78.

^y Lambert, 246-7; Voigt, 409.

^z Ep. iv. 3. Sept. 3, 1076.

^a Lambert, 252.

conferred by all, could not be resigned without discredit to all. His promises were rejected with contemptuous references to his former breaches of faith. The confederates declared an intention of immediately choosing another king. Each party entertained projects of crossing the river and attacking the other by force; but at length it was proposed that the matters in dispute should be referred to the pope, who was to be invited to attend a diet at Augsburg at the feast of Candlemas ensuing. If Henry could obtain absolution within a year from the time of his excommunication, he was to be acknowledged as king; the princes would accompany him to Italy, where he should be crowned as emperor, and would aid him in driving out the Normans; if unabsolved, he was to forfeit his kingdom for ever. In the mean time he was to forego the symbols and the pomp of royalty, to refrain from entering a church until he should be absolved, to dismiss his excommunicated advisers, and to live as a private man at Spire, restricting himself to the company of Dietrich, bishop of Verdun, and a few other persons. If he should fail in the performance of any condition, the princes were to be free from their engagements to him. Hard as these terms were, Henry saw no alternative but the acceptance of them; he disbanded his troops, dismissed his counsellors, and, with his queen and her infant child, withdrew to the city which had been assigned for his residence.^b

The prospect of meeting the pope in Germany—of appearing before him as a deposed king, in the presence of the exasperated and triumphant princes—was alarming, and Henry, by a mission to Rome, requested that he might be allowed to make his submission in Italy. But Gregory refused the request, and announced to the Germans his compliance with the invitation to Augsburg.^c The year within which it was necessary for the king to obtain absolution was drawing towards an end, and in desperation he resolved to cross the Alps, and to present himself before the pope. With much difficulty he raised the funds necessary for the journey; for those who had fed on him in his prosperity were now deaf to his applications.^d He left Spire with Bertha and her infant child; among their train was only one man of free birth, and he a person of humble station. As the passes of the Alps were in the hands of the opposite party, the king, instead of proceeding by the nearest road, took his way through Burgundy, where he spent Christmas at Besançon with his maternal great-uncle count

^b Lambert, 253-4; Bonizo, 816.

^c Berthold, p. 287.

^d Lambert, 255.

William.^e At the foot of Mont Cenis, he was met by his mother-in-law Adelaide, and her son Amadeus, marquis of Susa; "but," says the annalist, "the anger of the Lord had turned from him not only those who were bound by fealty and gratitude, but even his friends and nearest kindred;"^f Adelaide refused him a passage, except on condition of his giving up to her five adjoining Italian bishopricks. The proposal seemed as if intended to embroil him further with the pope, and Henry was fain to purchase the passage by ceding to her a valuable territory in Burgundy.^g

The winter was of extraordinary severity. The Rhine and the Po were thickly frozen over from Martinmas to the end of March; in many places the vines were killed by the frost; the snow which covered the Alps was as hard and as slippery as ice.^h By the help of guides, the royal party with difficulty reached the summit of the pass; but the descent was yet more hazardous. The men crept on their hands and knees, often slipping and rolling down the glassy declivities. The queen, her child, and her female attendants, were wrapped in cow-hides, and in this kind of sledge were dragged down by the guides. The horses were led, with their feet tied together; many dropped down dead, some fell from precipices and perished, and almost all the rest were rendered unserviceable.ⁱ

Having achieved this perilous passage, the king arrived at Turin, where he met with a reception which contrasted strongly with the behaviour of his northern subjects. The Italians remembered the effects produced by former visits of German emperors; they looked to Henry for a redress of their grievances, for a pacification of their discords; the Lombards were roused to enthusiasm by a belief that he was come to depose the detested Gregory. Bishops, nobles, and a host of inferior partisans flocked around him, and, as he moved onwards, the number of his followers continually increased.^k

The proceedings at Tribur had opened a magnificent prospect to Gregory; he might hope to extinguish the imperial power, and to create it anew in accordance with his own principles.^m Contrary to the advice and entreaties of his Roman counsellors, he set out for Germany under the guidance of the countess Matilda, who, by the murder of her husband, the younger Godfrey of Lorraine,

^e Lambert, 255.^f *Ib.* 256.ⁱ Lambert, 256.^g *Ibid.* This is questioned by J. von Müller and by Linden, ix. 111.^k *Ibid.*; Voigt, 430.^h *Ibid.*; Berthold, 287.^m Voigt, 424.

and by the death of her mother, had lately become sole mistress of her great inheritance." The "Great Countess" was not more remarkable for power and influence than for character. Her talents and accomplishments were extraordinary; no prince of the age was more skilful in the art of government; and with a masculine resolution and energy she united the warmth of a woman's enthusiastic devotion.^o Her marriage with the imperialist Godfrey, the son of her stepfather, had been disturbed by differences of feeling and opinion, and, after a short union, the pair had lived apart, in their respective hereditary dominions.^p The attachment with which she devoted herself to the pope was a mark for the slander of Gregory's enemies, but needs no other explanation than that acquaintance with her from her early years which had given him an opportunity of imbuing her mind with his lofty ecclesiastical principles, and of gaining over her the influence of a spiritual father.^q In company with Matilda he advanced as far as Vercelli, when, on hearing that Henry had crossed the Alps, and finding himself disappointed in his expectation of an escort from the princes of Germany, he was persuaded by her to withdraw to Canossa, a strong Apennine fortress belonging to the countess. There they were joined by the marchioness Adelaide and her son, by Hugh abbot of Cluny—the godfather of Henry and the ancient superior of Gregory—and other persons of eminent dignity.^r

The bishops and others of the king's party who desired reconciliation with the pope appeared gradually at Canossa. Some of them had eluded the sentinels who guarded the Alpine passes; some had fallen into the hands of Henry's enemies, and had been obliged to pay heavily for leave to pursue their journey. On their arrival Gregory ordered them to be confined in solitary cells, with scanty fare; but after a few days he summoned them into his presence, and absolved them on condition that, until the king should be reconciled, they should hold no intercourse with him, except for

^o Beatrice died in April, 1076; Donizo, i. c. 20.

^p Luden, viii. 542; Stenzel, i. 351.

^q Lambert, 257. That Baronius (1073, 22-5) is mistaken in supposing them divorced is shown by Pagi, xviii. 381. Landolph groundlessly charges Matilda with instigating the assassination of Godfrey, iii. 31.

^r Planck, iv. 214; Stenzel, ii. 27; Sir J. Stephen's Essays, ii. 46. The scandal was, as we have seen, alluded to in the letter of the bishops from Worms.

Waltram mentions it, but does not seem to believe it, although he censures Matilda's masculine conduct as inconsistent with St. Paul's view of female duty (ap. Freher, i. 219). Lambert refutes the imputations. 257.

^s Berthold, 288-9; Card. de Aragonia, ap. Murat, iii. 307. Luden, on mere conjecture, thinks that Gregory had no intention of going to Germany, but had agreed, at Matilda's request, to receive Henry at Canossa, ix. 106.

the purpose of persuading him to submission.^s For Henry himself a severer treatment was reserved.

On arriving before Canossa, the king obtained an interview with Matilda, and prevailed on her, with Adelaide, Hugh of Cluny, and other influential persons, to entreat that the pope would not rashly believe the slanders of his enemies, and would grant him absolution. Gregory answered that, if the king believed himself innocent, he ought to wait for the council which had been appointed, and there to submit himself to the pope's impartial judgment. The mediators represented the urgency of the time—that the year of grace was nearly expired; that the hostile princes were eagerly waiting to catch at the expected forfeiture of the kingdom; that, if the king might for the present receive absolution, he was willing to submit to any terms or to any inquiry. At length the pope, as if relenting, proposed that Henry, in proof of his penitence, should surrender to him the ensigns of royalty, and should acknowledge that by his offences he had rendered himself unworthy of the kingdom. The envoys, shocked at the hardness of these conditions, entreated Gregory not to break the bruised reed; and in condescension to their importunities he promised to grant the king an interview.^t

But before this interview a deeper humiliation was to be endured. Henry was admitted, alone and unattended, within the second of the three walls which surrounded the castle. He was dressed in the coarse woollen garb of a penitent; his feet were bare; and in this state, without food, he remained from morning till evening, exposed to the piercing cold of that fearful winter. A second and a third day were spent in the same manner; Gregory himself tells us that all within the castle cried out against his harshness, as being not the severity of an apostle, but barbarous and tyrannical cruelty.^u At last Henry, beside himself with bodily and mental suffering, sought a meeting with Matilda and the abbot of Cluny in a chapel of the castle, and persuaded them to become sureties for him to the pope;^x and on the fourth day he was admitted to Gregory's presence. Numb with cold, bareheaded and barefooted, the king, a man of tall and remarkably noble person,^y stood submissive before the pope, whose small and slight form was now withered with austerities and bent with age.^z After many words, the terms of absolution were stated. Henry was to appear before

^s Lambert, 257-8.

^t *Ib.* 258.

^u Ep. iv. 12.

^x Donizo, ii. c. 1; Pertz, xii. 331.

^y Otbert, c. 1; Pertz, xii. 271.

^z Milman, iii. 169.

a diet of the German princes, at which the pope intended to preside. He was to submit to an investigation of his conduct, and, if found guilty by the laws of the church, was to forfeit his kingdom. In the mean time, he was to refrain from all use of the royal ensigns, and from all exercise of the royal authority; his subjects were to be free from their allegiance to him; he was to hold no intercourse with his excommunicated counsellors; he was to yield implicit obedience to the pope in future, and, if in any respect he should violate the conditions, he was to lose all further hope of grace.^a The king was brought so low that even these terms were thankfully accepted; but Gregory would not trust him unless the abbot of Cluny, with other bishops and princes, undertook to be sureties for his observance of them.^b

The pope then proceeded to the celebration of mass; and, after the consecration, desired Henry to draw near. "I," he said, "have been charged by you and your adherents with simony in obtaining my office, and with offences which would render me unworthy of it. It would be easy to disprove these charges by the evidence of many who have known me throughout my life; but I prefer to rely on the witness of God. Here is the Lord's body; may this either clear me from all suspicion if I am innocent, or, if guilty, may God strike me by sudden death!" A thrill of anxiety ran throughout the spectators; the pope underwent the awful ordeal, and they burst into loud applause. Then Gregory again addressed the king—"Do, my son, as you have seen me do. The princes of Germany daily beset me with accusations against you, so many and so heinous, that they would render you unfit not only for empire, but for the communion of the church, and even for the common intercourse of life; and for these they pray that you may be brought to trial. But human judgment is fallible, and falsehood and truth are often confounded. If, therefore, you know yourself to be guiltless, take this remaining portion of the Lord's body, that so God's judgment may approve your innocence."

The ordeal was unequal. The charges from which the pope had purged himself were distinct and palpable; those against the king were unnamed, infinite in variety, extending over his whole life, many of them such as he would have met not with a denial but with explanation and apology. He shuddered at the sudden proposal, and, after a brief consultation with his friends, told the pope

^a Lambert, 259; *Juramentum Henrici*, ap. Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 50. Waltram remarks on the insidious nature of the

terms, p. 161.

^b Lambert, 259.

that such a trial, in the absence of his accusers, would not be convincing; he therefore prayed that the matter might be deferred until a diet should meet for the consideration of his case. Gregory assented; he received the king at his table, and gave him friendly advice as to his future conduct.^c

The bishop of Zeiz had been sent out from the castle to absolve those who had held intercourse with Henry during his excommunication. His message was received with derision. The Italians cried out that they cared nothing for the excommunication of a man who had been justly excommunicated by all the bishops of Italy—a simoniac, a murderer, an adulterer. They charged Henry with having humbled them all by his abasement of himself; he had thought only of himself, he had made peace with the public enemy, and had deserted those who, for his sake, had exposed themselves to enmity and danger. They spoke of setting up his son, the young Conrad, as king—of carrying the prince to Rome, and choosing another pope.^d Henry, on joining his partisans, found that a change had come over their disposition towards him. The chiefs returned to their homes without asking his permission; and, as he marched along, the general dissatisfaction was apparent. No cheers or marks of honour greeted him; the provisions which were supplied to him were scanty and coarse; and at night he was obliged to lodge in the suburbs of towns, as the inhabitants would not admit him within their walls. The bishops, who were especially indignant, held a meeting at Reggio, and combined to excite their flocks against him.^e

It is said that when some Saxon envoys expressed their alarm in consequence of Henry's absolution, the pope endeavoured to reassure them in these words—"Be not uneasy, for I will send him back to you more culpable than ever." The story is generally discredited, on the ground that, even if Gregory had been capable of the profound wickedness which it implies, he would not have been so indiscreet as to avow his craft.^f Yet it is hardly con-

^c Lambert, 259-260. As to the administration of the Eucharist, the ancient writers are not agreed. Donizo, (ii. v. 114) and Waltram (161) say that the pope gave it to Henry; Berthold (290) that he offered it, and that Henry declined it as being unworthy. Gregory himself does not allude to it (Ep. iv. 12). Lambert's story is followed by Stenzel (i. 409-11) and by Dean Milman, who gives the scene very strikingly (iii. 168-172). Luden (ix. 112-5, and notes) and Doelling (ii. 131) deny

the truth of it, apparently from a feeling that it is not creditable to their hero. On the wickedness involved in Gregory's alleged proposal, Stenzel and Dean Milman speak strongly.

^d Lambert, 260-1; Voigt, 412-3.

^e Lambert, 261.

^f Waltram (ap. Freher, i. 161) is the only authority for the story. See Schmidt, ii. 317; Schroekh, xxv. 493; Planck, iv. 183-4; Stenzel, ii. 23; Milman, iii. 171.

ceivable that he should have expected the king to fulfil the engagements which had been so sternly exacted from him in his distress. While the abasement to which Henry had been forced to stoop greatly exceeded all that could have been anticipated, the grace which had been granted to him was far short of his expectations. He was still at the mercy of the offended princes of Germany; his royalty, instead of being restored, seemed to be placed hopelessly beyond his reach. And the temper of the Italians—the enthusiasm with which they had received him, their burning animosity against his great enemy—proved to him that his humiliation had been needless. He wished to find some pretext for breaking with Gregory, and assured the Italians that he had submitted to the pope only from reasons of temporary necessity, but that he was now resolved to take vengeance for the indignities to which he had been subjected.^g They flocked again to his standard; he resumed the insignia of royalty; Liemar of Bremen, with his excommunicated advisers, again appeared at his side, and with them were many who had avoided him during his excommunication. Large contributions of money poured in from his adherents, and he again felt himself strong.^h He asked the pope to allow him to be crowned at Monza, as if his absolution had restored him to the kingdom of Italy; but the request was refused.ⁱ He then invited Gregory to a conference at Mantua; but Matilda, acting either on information or on suspicion of some treacherous design, persuaded the pope not to expose himself.^k

Gregory remained at Canossa, or in its neighbourhood, until the month of August;^m and during his residence there, the countess bequeathed her inheritance to the Roman seeⁿ—a donation which was afterwards renewed, and which, although it never fully took effect, contributed much in the sequel to the temporal power of the popes.^o

The princes of Germany considered that Henry, by going into Italy, had broken the engagements which he had made with them at Tribur, and they resolved to proceed to further measures.^p A diet was summoned to meet at Forchheim, in Franconia, in March, 1077. The king excused himself from attending it on the ground

^g Lambert, 261; Stenzel, ii. 416.

^h Lambert, 262; Schröckh, xxv. 497.

ⁱ P. Bernr. 86; Voigt, 444.

^k Donizo (ii. 134-146) speaks as if it were certain that Henry meant to seize the pope; but it seems to be merely a suspicion. See Luden, ix. 125; Mil-

man, iii. 174.

^m Berthold, 291.

ⁿ Donizo, ii. 173. See too Chron. Casin. iii. 49 and note in Pertz.

^o Mosh. ii. 340. See below, ch. iv.

^p P. Bernr. 88.

that, being on his first visit to Italy, he was occupied with the affairs of that country, and was unwilling to offend his Italian subjects by hastily leaving them.^a The pope declined the invitation, on the plea that Henry refused to grant him a safe conduct; but he was represented by legates. It was his wish to keep matters in suspense until Henry, by some breach of the conditions on which he had been absolved, should give a clear pretext for deposing him, and his legates were instructed accordingly. They were to endeavour that, if the state of the country would permit, the election of a new king should be deferred until their master should himself go into Germany; but if the princes were bent on carrying it through at once, they were not to oppose them. To the princes he wrote that they should carry on the government of the country, but should refrain from any more decided step until the case of Henry should be fully examined in his own presence.^r

But the Germans were furious against Henry, and would endure no delay. The legates, after expressing the pope's feeling, said that it was for the princes to decide what would be best for their country, and were silent; and Rudolph, duke of Swabia, formerly one of Henry's chief supporters, and connected both with him and with Bertha by having married a sister of each, was chosen as king.^s The first to vote for him was the primate Siegfried, whose eagerness to secure the titles of Thuringia had contributed so largely to Henry's errors and unpopularity.^t The legates confirmed the choice, and proposed conditions for the new sovereign. He was to discourage simony, and to grant freedom of election to sees; and the kingdom was not to be hereditary, but elective—a provision intended to make the rulers feel the necessity of keeping well with both the pope and the princes.^u Rudolph was crowned at Mentz, on the 26th of March, by Siegfried and the archbishop of Magdeburg. On the day of the coronation a bloody affray took place between the populace of Mentz and Rudolph's soldiers; and this inauguration of the new reign was too truly ominous of its sequel.^x Siegfried was driven from his city, never to return to it.^y

The setting up of a rival king re-awakened the feeling of loyalty

^a Lambert, 262. At this point Lambert's history ends. For his character, see Bowden, ii. 199. The chief object of Mr. Floto's 'Heinrich IV.,' so far as yet published, appears to be to disparage Lambert's authority.

^r P. Bernr. 88; Voigt, 455, 459.

^s P. Bernr. 93-4; Berthold, 292.

^t Berthold, 292.

^u Bruno, c. 91; Voigt, 457.

^x P. Bernr. 96; Bernold, Ann. 1077; Ekkehard, p. 292; Bruno, c. 92; Berthold, p. 292.

^y Ekkehard, 202. He died in 1081. Annal. Saxo. 721.

in many who had long been discontented with Henry's government, and, when he returned into Germany, his force grew as he went on. He enriched himself, and found means of rewarding his partisans, by confiscating the estates of his chief opponents.^a With Rudolph were the mass of the Swabians, Saxons, and Thuringians; with Henry were Franconia and Bavaria. Yet in countries where the majority favoured one of the rivals, the other also had partisans, so that the division penetrated even into the bosom of families.^a The bishops were for the most part on Henry's side; many abbeys sent their contingents to swell his army, and the populations of the towns were generally with him, out of gratitude for the privileges which they had received from him, and for the protection which he had afforded them against the tyranny of princes and nobles.^b For three years the contest was carried on; the land was desolated by the ravages of war, especially by the outrages of the barbarous and half-heathen Bohemians, whom Henry had called to his aid, and who revelled in acts of profanity and sacrilege, of lust and cruelty.^c Three great battles were fought: at Melrichstadt, in August, 1078, and at Fladenheim (or Marchheim) in January, 1080, Rudolph was declared the victor; but so slight was his superiority, and so severe was his loss, that the victories were little more than nominal.^d In the mean time the anarchy of Germany was frightful. Neither Henry nor Rudolph dared to execute justice from fear of alienating their followers. Violence met with no check, nobles and knights built castles and lived by robbery, and the wretched people were ground to the dust by oppression of every kind.^e The north of Italy too was in a state of continual agitation. Guibert of Ravenna and Tedald of Milan were indefatigable in their exertions against Gregory. Imperialist and papalist bishops fought for the possession of sees, and strove to outbid each other by grants of privileges to their people.^f

Gregory found that he had gone too far—that Henry possessed a strength which the pope had not suspected when at Canossa he subjected him to a humiliation which could never be forgiven; and he was displeased that the princes, by electing Rudolph, had taken into their own hands the determination which he had wished to reserve for himself. During the war, he refrained from showing any decided favour to either party. It was in vain that Rudolph

^a Berthold, 295-8.

^a Voigt, 465; Stenzel, i. 424.

^b Voigt, 462-5.

^c Berthold, 295-313; Bernold, 434;

Milman, iii. 180.

^d Bruno, cc. 96-102; Voigt, 491-4.

^e Stenzel, i. 194.

^f Voigt, 486.

entreated his recognition, and that Henry entreated him to excommunicate the rebel leader, although Gregory said that he would do so unless Rudolph should be able to justify his conduct.^g He styled them both kings; he assured the envoys of each that he was anxious to do justice—that he would go into Germany and decide between them; and he asked both to grant him a safe-conduct. His legates went from Henry to Rudolph, and from Rudolph to Henry; they took money from each, and spoke to each in terms of encouragement.^h The legates were instructed, if either of the rivals should be contumacious, to anathematise him, and to adjudge the kingdom to his more submissive opponent.ⁱ

The Saxons were indignant at this policy. In five letters,^k written in a plain and downright tone of remonstrance, and with a scanty observance of the usual forms, they represent to Gregory the sufferings which they had brought on themselves by what they had supposed to be an obedience to his instructions. They tell him that they had relied on the firmness of Rome; that, after having urged them into danger, he had deserted them; that they are too simple to understand the subtle and equivocal policy by which he acknowledged two kings at once, and seemed to pay greater honour to him whom he had deposed than to the king whose election they had believed to be warranted by the papal sanction.^m

Gregory, in reply, endeavoured to justify himself by dwelling on the exigencies of the time, and on his wish to do impartial justice. He denied that he had instigated the election of Rudolph; he disowned the acts of his legates who had confirmed that election, and had pronounced a fresh excommunication against Henry at Goslar in November, 1077.ⁿ But the Germans treated his excuses as subterfuges; they told him that he ought either to have refrained from proceeding against Henry, or to follow up his acts by openly aiding them. They beseech him to have regard to his own reputation, and to the effusion of blood which must lie at his door if he continue his course of indecision.^o

^g Ep. ix. 133; Bonizo, 816-7; Voigt, 473. Linden thinks that Henry's request was made, not with any expectation of its being granted, but in order that Gregory might appear before the world as an abettor of the rebellion. ix. 123.

^h Bruno, 116.

ⁱ Ep. iv. 23-4; v. 15; vi. 1; Voigt, 471-2.

^k Bruno, 107-115.

^m It is generally said that Gregory

allowed the first two letters to remain unanswered; but Stenzel (Beilage x.) examines the order, and shows that his letter (Ep. vi. 1, June 1, 1078) is an answer to the *first*.

ⁿ See Berthold, 302; Bernold, 435; Greg. Epp. vi. 1; vii. 32; ix. 28.

^o Noël Alexander attempts to give a peculiar colour to Gregory's conduct, by arguing that he had not intended to depose Henry, but only to suspend him (t. xiii. Diss. ii. artt. 4-8). I cannot see

The tidings of the battle of Fladenheim (Jan. 27, 1080) at March 7, length roused the pope to a bolder proceeding. At the 1080. council which was held in the following Lent, and which was the most fully attended of all his councils, he refused to allow Henry's envoys a hearing in answer to the charges which Rudolph's envoys had advanced; he repeated his threats against all who should give or should receive investiture; and he renewed the excommunication and deposition of the king in very remarkable terms. The sentence, as before, is addressed to St. Peter and St. Paul. He calls the Apostles to witness as to the means by which he had attained his office, and as to his administration of it. He recounts the course of his dealings with Henry—the king's offences, his excommunication, his absolution, and his breach of the promises which he had made at Canossa; the election of Rudolph, which, he solemnly protests, was not undertaken by his advice; the calamities which had followed in Germany, and of which he charged the guilt on Henry. He then again declared the king to be deposed, forbade all Christians to obey him, and anathematised him with his abettors. He prayed that Henry might never prosper in war; in the name and with the blessing of the apostles, he bestowed the kingdom of Germany on Rudolph; and he prayed them that, as they had power to bind and to loose in heaven—as they judged angels—so they would now show to kings, princes, and all the world, that the dignities of this life too were in their disposal. "Do you," the form concluded, "so exercise your judgment on the aforesaid Henry, as that all may know that he shall fall, not by chance, but by your power. May he be confounded unto repentance, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord!"^p The pope even ventured to assume the character of a prophet; he foretold, (and he staked his credibility on the result,) that within a year Henry would either be dead, or deposed and utterly powerless.^q And he sent into Germany a crown with an inscription signifying that it was the gift of Christ to St. Peter and of St. Peter to Rudolph.^r

ground for this view. Gregory went too far, and wished to recall what he had done. The legates at Forchheim did not exceed their commission, although the result was different from what he had expected or wished.

^p Hard. vi. 1587-92.

^q Bonizo, 819 (who tries to explain this away); Benno, 4; Sigebert, Ann. 1080; Rog. Wendover, ii. 21. See Baron. 1080. 50; Bayle, art. *Grégoire VII*, note N.

^r "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho."

Sigebert (Ann. 1077) wrongly puts this immediately after Rudolph's election. See Voigt, 530; Neander, vii. 162. It has been generally said that Gregory was induced to espouse Rudolph's cause openly by a mistaken belief that the battle of Fladenheim was decisive against Henry (Voigt, 516-8). Stenzel, however, ascribes his proceedings to an opposite motive—to a knowledge that

On hearing of the pope's proceedings, Henry resolved to meet them by a measure no less decided. At Whitsuntide he assembled a council of his bishops at Mentz, for the choice of a new pope. With a view of obtaining the concurrence of the Lombards, the election was adjourned to a council which was to be held at Brixen, and the German prelates engaged themselves to accept the decision of their brethren. At Brixen, Gregory was condemned as a disturber of the church and of the empire—as a patron of murder, perjury, and sacrilege, a Berengarian heretic, a necromancer, and a demoniac; and Guibert, of Ravenna, was elected pope, under the name of Clement III.^a

The armies of Henry and his rival met once more, on the bank of the Elster, in October 1080. The contest was long and obstinate; each side prevailed by turns; and, although at last the victory was with the Saxons, the death of their leader converted it into a virtual defeat. The fatal wound is said to have been given by Godfrey of Bouillon—afterwards the hero of the first crusade. A stroke from the sword of another cut off Rudolph's right hand, and it was reported that the dying man remorsefully acknowledged this as a just punishment, since with that hand he had sworn fealty to Henry.^t The pope's prediction of Henry's death was falsified; according to one version of the story, he had prophesied the death or ruin of the *pretended* king;^u and Heaven had now declared that the king of Gregory's own choice was the pretender.

Henry offered peace to the Saxons, but they answered that they could not act without the pope; and the king resolved to march on Rome.^x

The prospect which Gregory had before him might well have alarmed him. Henry was stronger than ever, and his alliance was sought by the emperor of the east, who wished to make common cause with him against the Normans. The pope could expect no aid from Philip of France. William of England and Normandy, although Gregory was assiduous in his civilities to him and to his queen, was cool and uninterested. As he, alone among the sovereigns of his time, found Gregory tractable, he had no motive for

Rudolph's cause was nearly desperate, and could only be assisted by the most vigorous measures. i. 459. Comp. Bowden, ii. 265-8. Tuden says that he felt it necessary to act, for the recovery of his reputation, which had suffered by his long indecision. ix. 170-4.

^a Ekkehard, Ann. 1080; Pertz, Leges, ii. 51; Voigt, 531-4. We may, in some

measure, understand how some of the offences charged on Gregory were constructively brought home to him from Wido of Ferrara, ap. Pertz, xii. 172.

^t Ekkehard, p. 204; Voigt, 538-540.

^u Sigebert, Ann. 1080; Rog. Wender, ii. 21.

^x Voigt, 553.

taking part with the antipope; but he was not disposed to embroil himself in Gregory's quarrels.^y The countess Matilda alone could be relied on. Her devotion to the papal cause was unbounded; she placed her forces at Gregory's disposal, she sheltered his adherents in her Alpine fortresses, and by her heroic energy kept up the spirit of his party.^z By the sale, not only of her own precious ornaments, but of those which belonged to her churches, she repeatedly raised large sums, with which she enabled him to purchase for a time the support of the venal and fickle Romans.^a But her forces were altogether unequal to cope with those of Henry; and the pope was urged by his friends to make peace with the king and to bestow on him the imperial crown.^b

Gregory was undaunted and immoveable in his resolution; but a change had come over his object. It was no longer a question of things, but of persons. He had professed to break with Henry for the maintenance of certain abuses, and he was now willing to tolerate those very abuses, in order to humble the king. All means were to be taken that men should not be driven to Henry's side.^c The legates in Germany were instructed to permit the ministrations of concubinary priests, on account of the hardness of the times, and the fewness of clergy.^d If the bishop of Osnaburg should be disposed to abandon Henry, they were to deal easily with him in a suit as to tithes.^e Gregory wrote to Robert, count of Flanders, in terms of great courtesy—forgiving the language which he had used against the apostolic see, out of a wish to keep him in the unity of the church.^f The legate in France, Hugh, bishop of Die, was reproofed for unseasonably enforcing the rigour of the canons. He was ordered to restore some Norman bishops whom he had deposed for refusing to attend a synod. He was to absolve some knights who had impropriated tithes and had taken the part of simoniac and concubinary clergymen.^g The bishops of Paris and Chartres, against whom Hugh had proceeded in a summary manner, were treated by the pope with indulgence.^h Above all, the legate was to beware of irritating the king of England, whom Gregory, although he professed himself not blind to his faults, declared to be far more worthy of approbation than other kings.ⁱ To every one but Henry Gregory breathed conciliation; and in this spirit he sought an alliance with the Normans of the

^y Voigt, 552, 559.

^z Donizo, ii. c. 2.

^a Ib. v. 309. See Muratori, v. 385.

^b Voigt, 554.

^c Gieseler, II. i. 30-2.

^d Ep. ix. 3.

^e Ib. 33.

^f Ib. 15-6.

^g Ib. 10.

^h Ib. 5.

ⁱ Ib. 5.

south—selfish, faithless, profane, and sacrilegious robbers as he well knew them to be.

The power and the ambition of the Normans had been continually on the increase. Guiscard had been suspected as an accomplice of Cencius in his plot;^k he had been under excommunication for some years, for his invasions of the patrimony of St. Peter;^m but Gregory, by the mediation of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, now eagerly patched up a treaty with him. Guiscard swore to defend the pope; he was released from his excommunication June 29, 1080. without any profession of penitence; and, instead of exacting retribution from him, Gregory added to a renewal of the grants of Nicolas and Alexander the following remarkable words:—"But as for the territory which you unjustly hold, we now patiently bear with you, trusting in Almighty God and in your goodness, that hereafter your behaviour with respect to it will be such, to the honour of God and of St. Peter, as it becomes both you to show and me to accept, without peril either to your soul or to mine."ⁿ It is said that, in consideration of the expected aid, he even promised Guiscard the imperial crown.^o

In Germany, the partisans of Rudolph set up Count Hermann, of Salm or Luxemburg, as his successor. Gregory instructed his legates to see that no one should be chosen who would not be obedient to the Roman see, and sent them a form of oath to be taken by the new king, which reduced the kingdom, and consequently the empire, to a fief of the church.^p But Hermann was unable to gain any considerable strength, and Henry was safe in disregarding him.

Henry's successes revived the disposition to ask whether the pope were justified in deposing sovereigns; and in answer March 15, 1081. to a renewed inquiry from Hermann, bishop of Metz, Gregory laid down more fully than before his views of the papal authority.^q He cites the same passages of Scripture on which he had relied in his former letter. He magnifies the sacerdotal power above that of temporal sovereigns. The instances of Theodosius and Childeric are reinforced by a fabulous excommunication of Arcadius by Pope Innocent,^r and by a forgery, apparently of recent date, in which Gregory the Great was represented as threatening to deprive of his dignity any king or other potentate who should invade the monastery of

^k P. Bernr. 48.

very questionable.

^m Hard. vi. 1578; Pertz, ix. 280;

^p Ep. ix. 3; Schmidt, ii. 296.

Ep. ii. 9.

^q Ep. viii. 21.

ⁿ Hard. vi. 1151.

^r Hard. vi. 1471, c. See Waltram, ap.

^o Guill. Appul. iv. 31. This seems

Freher, i. 164.

St. Medard at Autun.* But the most remarkable words of the letter are those in which he contrasts the origin of secular with that of ecclesiastical power. "Shall not," he asks, "the dignity invented by men of this world, who even knew not God, be subject to that dignity which the providence of Almighty God hath invented to His own honour, and hath in compassion bestowed on the world? Who can be ignorant that kings and dukes took their beginning from those who, not knowing God, by their pride, their rapine, perfidy, murders, in short by almost every sort of wickedness, under the instigation of the prince of this world, the devil, have in blind ambition and intolerable presumption aimed at domination over other men, their equals?"[†] The bold assertions of this letter called forth many replies from the controversialists of the opposite party both before and after the death of Gregory."

In the spring of 1081 Henry descended on Italy. Gregory, in a letter to Desiderius, speaks of him as being at Ravenna with a small force. "If we would comply with his impiety," says the pope, "never has any one of our predecessors received such ample and devoted service as he is ready to pay us. But we will rather die than yield."[‡] The king's army, however, was far stronger than Gregory represented it to be. He ravaged Matilda's territories, and laid siege to her capital, Florence; but, finding that the capture was likely to detain him too long, he relinquished the attempt, and on Whitsun-eve appeared before the walls of Rome.[§] As he had expected the city to open its gates, he was unprovided with the means of assaulting it, and the siege lasted nearly three years—the king withdrawing during the unhealthy seasons, while such of his troops as remained suffered severely from the climate.^{||} Gregory, shut up in his city, and even there regarded with dislike by the mass of the inhabitants, who were influenced by Henry's largesses, abated nothing either of his pretensions or of his activity; he held his synods as usual, he renewed his canons and his anathemas against the imperialists and their practices, he continued, by his legates and by his correspondence, to superintend the affairs of the church in foreign and distant countries.[¶] When Henry, in

* Hard. vi. 1470. The forgery is in Greg. Magni Opera, iii. 1332. See Gieseler, II. ii. 8.

[†] Ib. 1471. See Milman, iii. 191. We have already had a less explicit passage of the same sort in the earlier letter (p. 582).

[‡] E. g. Theodoric of Verdun (see Gieseler, II. ii. 17); Sigebert of Gem-

blours (see Pertz, vi. 272; Gieseler, II. ii. 16); Waltram of Naumburg (in Goldast. Apolog. pro Hen. IV.; or in Freher, t. i.). Comp. Nat. Alex. t. XIII. Diss. ii. 10.

[§] Ep. ix. 11, April 28.

^{||} Benzo, l. v.; Voigt, 561.

[¶] Voigt, 578.

[¶] Ib. 522-3.

the summer of 1083, had gained possession of the Leonine city, the pope resisted all the importunities of the Roman nobles, clergy, and people, who endeavoured to persuade him to a reconciliation; he would consent to no other terms than that the king should resign his dignity and should submit to penance.^b All attempts at negotiation were fruitless. Gregory held a last council, at which he is described as having spoken with the voice not of a man but of an angel; and, without naming Henry, he anathematised him among those who had intercepted bishops on their way to the assembly.^c The Romans, it is said, swore to Henry that either Gregory or another pope should crown him by a certain day. Gregory, on hearing of this, was indignant, but discovered an evasion: if Henry would submit, he would crown him as emperor; if not, he would let down a crown to him from the tower of St. Angelo, accompanied by his curse.^d At length the Romans, weary of the siege, made terms with the king, and ten days before Easter, 1084, Henry became master of the greater part of the city. Guibert summoned Gregory to a council, but the invitation was disregarded.^e The antipope was formally enthroned on Palm-Sunday, and on Easter-day he crowned Henry and Bertha to the imperial dignity.^f

Gregory took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and a few of his partisans, chiefly nobles, held out in their fortified houses. In his distress the pope had entreated the aid which Guiscard's feudal obligations bound him to render; but the Norman was engaged in an expedition which his daring ambition had led him to undertake against the Greek empire,^g and during his absence, Henry, who had entered into an alliance with Alexius Comnenus, and had received a subsidy from him, exerted himself to create an interest in the south of Italy. Guiscard, on returning from the east, was occupied for a time in quelling the opposition which had been thus excited;^h but in Gregory's extremity, the long-desired aid arrived. Guiscard had sent before him a large sum of money, which the pope had employed in purchasing the favour of the

^b Voigt, 577.

^c Bernold, 438; Voigt, 589.

^d Bernold, 438; Pertz, viii. 461. The story seems suspicious, not so much on account of the dishonesty which it imputes to Gregory, as of its childishness; but it is generally received, as by Voigt (581) and Stenzel (i. 485).

^e Benzo, l. vii. Prol.

^f There is some confusion between an

incomplete inauguration of Guibert at Whitsuntide, 1083, and the mere formal ceremony in 1084. See Bernold, p. 438; Pagi, xvii. 544; Voigt, 587-8; Stenzel, i. 486; Jaffe, 444.

^g Malaterra, ii. 24, seqq.; Guil. Appul. iv. 181. See Gibbon, v. 351-2; Pagi, xvii. 553.

^h Giannone, l. x. c. 5; Luden, ix.

Romans;^d he now appeared at the head of 6000 horse and 30,000 foot—a wild and motley host, in which were mingled adventurers of many nations, and even a large number of unbelieving Saracens.^k Henry, apprehending no danger, had sent away a great part of his troops, and, as the remainder were unequal to encounter these unexpected enemies, he retired at their approach, taking with him forty hostages, and assuring his Roman friends that he would soon return.^m The gates were closed against the Normans, but some of them found an entrance by an old aqueduct, and May, 1084. admitted the rest into the city. For three days Rome was subjected to the horrors of a sack. Butchery, plunder, lust, were uncontrolled. The inhabitants, driven to despair by these outrages, rose on their assailants, and Guiscard, to quell their resistance, ordered the city to be set on fire. The conflagration which followed, raged far and wide, and has left its permanent effects in the desolation which reigns over a large portion of ancient Rome. The Romans were at length subdued; multitudes were carried off by the Normans as prisoners, and many thousands were sold for slaves.ⁿ

Gregory was again master of his capital. Guiscard, immediately after having effected an entrance, had carried him in May 29. triumph from St. Angelo to the Lateran palace, and, falling at his feet, had begged his blessing. But the pope was sick of the Romans, of whose baseness and corruption he had so much experience; he was unwilling to look on the ruins of his city, and dreaded to hear the reproaches which could not but be directed against him as the author of the late calamities. He therefore left Rome in company with his allies, and, after a visit to Monte Cassino, retired to Salerno, where he held a synod, and renewed the anathemas against Henry and the antipope.^o During the following winter, he fell sick; his illness increased, and he became aware that his end was near. He entreated the friends who stood around his bed to tell him if they had observed anything in him which needed correction.^p He declared his faith as to the Eucharist—probably with a view of clearing himself from the suspicions of Berengarianism May 25, 1085. which his enemies had industriously cast on him. He forgave and absolved all whom he had anathematised, with

^d Lupus Protospath. Ann. 1083 (ap. Pertz, v.). ^k *ap. dulph*, iii. 33; Voigt, 591-2; Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 128.

^k Guil. Appul. iv. 565.

^m Malaterra, iii. 37; Voigt, 590.

ⁿ Bonizo, 818; Bernold, 441; Lan-

^o Voigt, 605-6.

^p Hug. Flavin. *ap. Pertz*, viii. 466.

exception of the emperor and the antipope; but with these he charged his adherents to make no peace unless on their entire submission.^q A fearful tempest raged as his friends hung over the dying pope.^r Gathering himself up for a final effort, he exclaimed, in words which have been interpreted as a reproach against Providence, but which may perhaps rather imply a claim to the beatitude of the persecuted—"I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."—"My Lord," a bishop is said to have replied, "in exile thou canst not die; for, as vicar of Christ and of His Apostles, thou hast received from God the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession!"^s

The strength and the towering grandeur of Gregory's character, the loftiness of his claims, the intrepid firmness with which he asserted them through all changes of fortune, the large measure of success which crowned them, in his own time and afterwards, have won for him enthusiastic admirers, not only among persons who are attached to the Church of Rome by profession or by sympathy, but among those modern idolaters of energy whose reverence is ready to wait on any man of extraordinary abilities and of unrelenting determination.^t But we may hesitate to adopt an estimate which scorns to inquire into the righteousness either of his objects or of the means which he employed.

Gregory found the papacy in miserable degradation; he left it far advanced towards dominion over the kingdoms of the world. Nothing can more significantly show the progress which it had made under his administration than the fact that the decree of Nicolas II., as to the election of popes, which had at first been resented as an invasion of the imperial rights, was now the ground on which the imperialists were fain to take their stand,^u while the papalists had come to disavow it as unworthy of their pretensions.^x

^q P. Bernr. 110; Urban. II. ap. Hug. Flav. p. 466. The imperialists, on the contrary, state that he absolved all;

that he acknowledged himself to have sinned greatly in his office, and sent his confessor to request Henry's forgiveness (Benno, p. 17; Sigebr. Gemblac. Ann. 1085—see Bethmann's note; MS. Brit. Mus. ap. Pertz, viii. 471). Gieseler is inclined to believe the story of the forgiveness, and to suppose that the rest was invented by the imperialist party (II. ii. 33). Stenzel takes the opposite side, i. 523. Comp. Pagi, xvii.

566.

^r Lupus Protosp. A.D. 1085 (Pertz, v.).

^s P. Bernr. 110. The reply is given less confidently than Gregory's speech.

^t See, e.g., Professor Voigt's Preface to the 2nd edition of his *Life of Hildebrand*.

^u Bonizo, §18.

^x Thus, when in 1084, Otho, bishop of Ostia (afterwards Urban II.), referred to the necessity of the emperor's consent to the election of a pope, Desiderius (afterwards Victor III.) replied that

The relations of the papacy and of the empire were to be reversed; the emperor was no longer to confirm the election of popes, or to decide between rival claimants of the see, but the pope was to hold the empire at his disposal. The successor of St. Peter was to give laws to mankind.

We may reasonably believe that Gregory was sincere; we may believe that, in forming and in carrying out his great design, he was not actuated by selfish personal ambition; that he would have been content to go on to the end of his life directing the execution of his policy under the names of other men—anxious that the policy should succeed, not that the author of it should be conspicuous, and willing that its triumph should be deferred until after his own death. But is this enough to entitle him to our approval? Are we to admire a wisdom so blind as that which would remedy the evils of secular misrule by setting up an universal spiritual despotism, and thus, by a certain consequence, plunging the spiritual deeply into secularity? Or shall we sanction the idea of a conscientiousness so imperfect that, in pursuit of one engrossing object, it disregards all the ordinary claims of justice, truth, and mercy?

We read of Gregory with awe, mixed, it may be, with admiration or with aversion; but in no human bosom can his character awaken a feeling of love. The ruthless sternness of his nature may be illustrated by an incident which occurred before his elevation to the papacy. Thrasimund, a monk of Monte Cassino, had been appointed by the abbot, Desiderius, to the abbacy of the dependent monastery of Tremi. A rebellion broke out among his monks, and he suppressed it with great rigour, blinding three of them, and cutting out the tongue of a fourth. Desiderius, on hearing of this, was overwhelmed with grief; he displaced Thrasimund, and put him to penance for his cruelty. But Hildebrand justified the severity which had been used, and contrived that Thrasimund should be promoted to a higher dignity.^y

The exaltation of the papacy was Gregory's single object. For this he sacrificed Berengar;^z he acted doubly with the Germans; he excited the multitude against the clergy and the empire; he

neither pope nor any other man could rightly make such a rule. "Quod si hoc a Nicolao Papa factum est, injuste procul dubio et stultissime factum est, nec pro humana stultitia potest aut debet amittere suam dignitatem ecclesia," &c. (Chron. Casin. iii. 50). Some

asserted that the decree was tampered with by the antipope's party. Gieseler, II. ii. 54.

^y Chron. Casin. iii. 25. Benno tells outrageous stories of Gregory's cruelty, pp. 4-5.

^z See the next chapter.

occasioned an endless amount of confusion, bloodshed, and misery. He took advantage of Henry's youth, of the weakness of his position, of the defects of his character; he used his triumph over him inhumanly, and when Henry had again become strong, Gregory, for the sake of gaining allies against this one enemy, was willing to connive at all which he had before denounced as abominable. Other popes had used the censures of the church as means of influencing princes through the discontent of their people; but Gregory was the first who assumed the power of releasing subjects from their obedience. He argued that Scripture made no difference between the binding and loosing of princes and of other men. But it was forgotten that Scripture allows a discretion in the employment of ecclesiastical censures; that the greatest of the western Fathers had strongly insisted on the inexpediency of enforcing discipline in cases where it would lead to a dangerous disturbance in the church;^a nor does Scripture give any countenance to the idea that the censures of the church deprive a sovereign of his right to civil obedience.^b

Gregory was not without enthusiasm. He instituted a new office in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and relied much on her aid, and on that of St. Peter;^c he expected to obtain revelations from heaven by means of visions;^d he even fancied himself an oracle of the Divine will, and dealt in predictions of temporal weal or woe, which, as we have seen, were, in some cases, signally unfortunate. Yet in many respects he was superior to the superstitions and to the narrow opinions of his age. He remonstrated humanely and wisely with the king of Denmark against the cruelties which in that country were practised on women accused of witchcraft.^e In the eucharistic controversy raised by Berengar, while he appears himself to have held the opposite doctrine, he allowed that of Berengar to be sufficient for communion with the church.^f In the controversy with the Greek church, he regarded the use of leavened or of unleavened bread as indifferent.^g And,

^a Adv. Parmen. III. ii. 13. This passage was afterwards quoted by Ives of Chartres and by Godfrey of Vendôme.

^b See Fleury, Disc. at end of B. lix. § 18.

^c Neander, vi. 117.

^d See below, p. 617.

^e Ep. vii. 21.

^f There is a commentary on St. Matthew, by a writer named Hildebrand, whom some have identified with Gregory. In a passage of this, published

by Alix, after an examination of the different views as to the Eucharist, it is concluded that the elements become the body and blood of Christ, but that we should not inquire how the conversion takes place. Neander very reasonably says, that, if Gregory were the author, the work would have been better known (vi. 233); and, besides this, although Gregory would have been satisfied with the view in question, he was ready, on occasion, to go further.

^g Ep. viii. 1; Hard. vi. 1451.

deeply monastic as was his own character, he was free from the indiscriminate rage for compelling all men to enter the cloister. He censures his old superior, Hugh, for having admitted a duke into the society of Cluny—thereby releasing him from the duties of his office, and leaving a hundred thousand Christians without a keeper. Such a man, he says, ought to have retained his place in the world, where, although piety is not uncommon among priests, and monks, and the poor, the instances of it among princes are rare and precious.^b

The plea that Gregory lived in a dark age is therefore only available in a modified degree for his defence, since it appears that in many things he was more enlightened than his contemporaries. And in admitting this plea for him, or for any other man to whom Holy Scripture was open, we must be careful never to let it cover the violation of duties which Scripture unequivocally enjoins—of justice, mercy, candour, and truth; while, on the other hand, we must deny him the credit of any good which it may have pleased Divine Providence to bring out of his acts, if such good were beyond Gregory's own wish and intention.

No doubt that elevation of the papacy, in which he was the most effective agent, was in the middle ages a great and precious bulwark against secular tyranny. But why should one usurpation be necessary as a safeguard against another? Why, if the investiture of bishops by princes was worse in its practical consequences than in its theory, should we be required to sympathise with one who opposed it by a system of which the very theory is intolerable? Spiritual tyranny is worse than secular tyranny, because it comes to us with higher pretensions. Against the oppressions of worldly force, religion may lift up her protest; to those who suffer from them, she may administer her consolations; but when tyranny takes the guise of religion, there is no remedy on earth, except in that which is represented as rebellion against God's own authority. The power of the hierarchy, as established mainly through the labours of Gregory, served as a protection against the rude violence of princes and of nobles; but it claimed for itself a dominion over the minds of men, and it did not hesitate to enforce this by the most inhuman and atrocious measures. And how much of what was worst in the secular power may have arisen out of a reaction against the extravagant claims of the papacy!

While we freely and thankfully acknowledge the good which

^b Ep. iii. 17. Pagi shows that Hugh duke of Burgundy is meant, xvii. 488.

resulted from Gregory's exertions, we may yet ask—and we may refuse to accept a theoretical assertion as an answer to the question—whether it would not have been infinitely better for mankind, and for the hierarchy itself, that the power of the Gospel should have been enforced on the world by milder and truer means?¹

¹ After the celebration of Gregory as a saint had been granted by earlier popes to certain places, and for certain monastic orders, Benedict XIII., in 1729, put forth an office in his honour for general use. But as it was said in the Legend for the day that Gregory "Henricum, in profundum malorum prolapsus, fidelium communione, reg-

noque privavit, atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit," many prelates of France refused to use the office, and it was forbidden in that country, in the imperial dominions, and by the protestant government of Holland. See Schröckh, xxv. 528-9; Guéranger, ii. c. 21.

CHAPTER III.

BERENGAR.

A.D. 1045-1083.

In the middle of the eleventh century a controversy arose as to the manner of the Saviour's presence in the Eucharist. On this question the Church had not as yet pronounced any formal decision, nor proposed any test of orthodoxy.^a A real presence of Christ was generally held; but the meaning of this reality—whether it were material or spiritual—was very variously conceived.^b Thus, in England, Aelfric, who is supposed to have written at the beginning of the century, and whose Homilies were read as authoritative in the Anglo-Saxon churches, had laid down in these homilies the very doctrine of Ratramn—that the presence of Christ is not material but spiritual.^c But in countries nearer to the centre of

^a See Schröckh, xviii. 490; Gieseler, II. i. 275.

^b Milman, iii. 21.

^c E. g. "Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy house and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is, by the power of the Divine word, truly Christ's body and blood: not, however, bodily, but spiritually. Great is the difference between the body in which Christ suffered, and the body which is hallowed for house. . . . In His ghostly body, which we call house, there is nothing to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. It is, as we before said, Christ's body and His blood, not bodily, but spiritually. Ye are not to inquire how it is done, but to hold in your belief that it is so done." (Aelfric, ii. 271-3, ed. Thorpe; Homily ii. "Of the Sacrifice on Easter-day." See other passages in Routh, *Scriptorium Eccl. Opuscula*, ii. 168, seq.) There has been much controversy as to who this writer was. He styles himself "monk and priest." It seems to be certain that he was not Aelfric archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 996-1005), and probable that he was not Aelfric archbishop of York (A.D. 1023-1051); although Wharton (*Ang. Sac.* i. 124-135) and Mr. Soames (227-9) think that he was, and Mr. Thorpe is inclined to agree with them (Pref. to Aelfric). But

that his homilies were used as authoritative in the Anglo-Saxon church is certain (see Thorpe's Preface, Johnson's *Canons*, i. 387, and Lingard, *A. S. C. i.* 319). Dr. Lingard attempts to get over the difficulty of the case by arguing that the homilist was not either of the archbishops; that *perhaps* other Anglo-Saxon writers, if they could be found, might prove to have taught differently from him; that his doctrine was not native to England, but derived from "Bertram, a foreign writer" (p. 311); that his homilies, compiled, according to Aelfric's own statement, from fathers and later writers, are not faultless, but exhibit such defects as might be expected from the age; that he has been misunderstood, and, after all, did not teach what Dr. Lingard is pleased to describe as "protestant" doctrine, but that with the "figure" Aelfric held the reality also (ii. 314-9, 457, seq.; see Routh, ii. 185). Hardouin took a bolder way to get rid of Aelfric—by finding a Hebrew etymology for his name, and thence arguing that he never really existed! (Soames, 226.) It is, however, a mistake to infer from Aelfric's language that the Anglo-Saxon church was formally and consciously opposed to Rome on the doctrine of the eucharistic presence; the real explanation is, that England was somewhat behind countries nearer to Rome in following the progress of Roman opinion; and this will ac-

the papal influence the opinions of Paschasius had by degrees won general acceptance, and any deviation from them was now regarded as an innovation on the faith.

In the beginning of the century, Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, who had been a pupil of Gerbert, excited attention by substituting for the usual form of address to communicants the words—"If thou art worthy, receive." The scanty notices of Leutheric leave it doubtful whether his offence consisted in holding that none but the worthy could really be partakers, or in giving the eucharist the character of an ordeal.^a Whatever it may have been, he was silenced by King Robert I., and quietly submitted to the sentence.^b Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, a friend of Leutheric, and one of the most eminent teachers of his age, while he maintained that the eucharist was a *pledge*, would not, with Paschasius, affirm its identity with the body in which the Saviour was born, and was crucified; and he speaks strongly against gross and material misconceptions on the subject. But it is doubtful in how far Fulbert would have agreed with the doctrines afterwards propounded by his pupil Berengar.^c

Berengar was born at Tours about the year 1000, and was educated under Fulbert, in the cathedral school of Chartres.^d His opponents afterwards described him as having in his early days exhibited a passion for novelty, as having despised books and criticised his teacher.^e William of Mahmesbury adds that, as Fulbert was on his deathbed, he singled out Berengar from the crowd which filled his chamber, and, declaring that he saw a devil beside him, enticing people to follow him, desired that he might be thrust out.^f But even the less improbable of these stories appears to be refuted by the tone in which an old fellow-pupil of Berengar reminded him of the days when they had studied together under the venerated bishop of Chartres.^g In 1031 Berengar returned to his native city, where he became schoolmaster and treasurer of the cathedral. The reputation of the school was greatly raised by

count for the fact, which Dr. Lingard states as a difficulty (II. E. i. 334), that there were English bishops in the Roman council, under Leo IX., which condemned Berengar.

^a Schröckh, xxiii. 503; Gieseler, II. i. 276.

^b Helgald, Vita Roberti, c. 4, ap. Bouquet, x. 100; Hugo. Flavini. ib. 220; Baron. 1004. 5.

^c See Fulb. Ep. i. ad Adeodatum.

Bibl. Patr. xviii. 5; Schröckh, xxiii. 503-6; Gieseler. II. i. 276. Bishop Cosin (Hist. Transubstantionis Papalis, in Works, ed. Bliss, iv. 114) supposes that Berengar took his doctrine from Fulbert.

^d Nat. Alex. viii. 497.

^e Guilmund. in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 441.

^f W. Malmesb. 465.

^g Adelmann. in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 432.

him, and his authority as a theologian stood high.^m Eusebius Bruno,ⁿ bishop of Angers, out of respect for his character and learning, bestowed on him the archdeaconry of that city, which Berengar held without relinquishing his preferments at Tours.^o

It appears to have been in 1045 or soon after that Berengar began to draw attention by advocating a doctrine which he professed to have derived from Scotus Erigena, under whose name Ratramn's treatise appears to have been really intended.^p The earliest notices of the novelties imputed to Berengar are contained in letters of expostulation addressed to him by two other old pupils of Fulbert—Hugh, bishop of Langres, whose deposition at the council of Rheims for gross offences has been already mentioned,^q and Adelman, schoolmaster of Liege, who afterwards became bishop of Brixen.^r These writers entreat Berengar to abandon his dangerous speculations. Adelman tells him that in countries of the German as well as of the Latin tongue he was reported to have forsaken the unity of the church.

In 1049, Berengar addressed a letter to Lanfranc, master of the monastic school of Bec in Normandy. Lanfranc was born at Pavia about the year 1005. He received a legal education, and, while yet a young man, became distinguished as an advocate. But the spirit of adventure led him to leave his country; he travelled through France, attended by a train of pupils, and, after having taught for a time at Avranches, was on his way to Rouen, when he was attacked by robbers, who plundered, stripped, and bound him. In his distress he made a vow to amend his life, and when, on the following day, he was set free by some travellers, he asked them to direct him to the humblest monastery with which they were acquainted. They answered that they knew of none poorer or less esteemed than the neighbouring house of Bec (or Le Bec),^s which Herluin, an old soldier who had turned monk, was then building. Lanfranc found the abbot labouring with his own hands at the

^m Hist. Litt. viii. 199.

ⁿ On his name, see Dupin, viii. 7.

^o Schröckh, xxiii. 507. The Hist. Litt., however, says that the archdeaconry was given by Bruno's predecessor, and not later than 1040. viii. 200.

^p See p. 288; Gieseler, II. i. 123, 276; Hagenbach, ii. 91; Floss, Pref. in Scotus, xx. seqq. Berengar supported the treatise to have been written at the request of *Charlemagne*. Ep. ad Ricardum, Hard. vi. 1025.

^q P. 22.

^r Hugo, in Bibl. Patr., xviii. 417;

Adelman, ib. 438. The bishop's letter must have been written before his deposition in October, 1049. That of Adelman is placed by Mabillon about the time of the synod of Paris against Berengar. A.D. 1051 (Acta SS. IX. x.). But it is generally dated earlier. Sanderdorf assigns it to 1047-8. "Berengarius Tironensis," Hannov. 1850, p. 7.

^s So called from its *beck*, or brook. Rémusat, "S. Anselme," p. 27. Candebeec, Bolbec, and other Norman names, retain this vestige of the Scandinavian language.

work, and was admitted into his society in 1042.^t The poor and despised little monastery soon became famous as a seminary of learning,^u and it is not impossible, that, among the motives by which Berengar was led to attack Lanfranc's doctrine, there may have mingled some feeling of jealousy at this unexpected and successful rivalry of his own fame as a teacher.^x In the letter which he now wrote, he expresses surprise that Lanfranc should (as he heard) have espoused the eucharistic doctrine of Paschasius, and should have condemned that of Scotus as heretical; such a judgment, he says, is rash, and unworthy of the "not despicable wit" which God had bestowed on Lanfranc. He taxes him with insufficient study of the Scriptures, while, for himself, he professes to be still but imperfectly acquainted with them. He proposes a conference on the point in question, and in the meantime tells Lanfranc, that, if he consider Scotus heretical, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome must be included in the same sentence.^y

When this letter reached Bee, Lanfranc was absent; and there is some uncertainty as to the next part of the story. Lanfranc states that he had gone to Italy—apparently after having attended the council of Rheims, and in the train of Leo IX;^z and that the letter, having been opened by some clerks, brought his own orthodoxy into suspicion. To this Berengar answers that it could not have had such an effect, inasmuch as it showed that the opinions of the person addressed were different from those of the writer, and agreeable to the doctrine which Lanfranc described as being generally held;^a and on the strength, chiefly, of this reply some modern writers have charged Lanfranc with a complication of intrigue and falsehood, and have supposed that he went to Rome for the express purpose of denouncing Berengar.^b But if we look to probability

^t Vita Lanfranci (in his works, ed. Dachery, or in Mabillon, ix.), c. 1; Vita Herluini, ap. Mabill. ix.; Orderic. Vital. l. iv. t. ii. 109.

^u Vita Lanf. 2; Guil. Gemet. vi. 9, ap. Bonquet, x. 35.

^x Guilmund brings this charge against Berengar very coarsely. Bibl. Patr. xvii. 441.

^y Hard. vi. 1016. Lessing speaks of this letter as "friendly, modest, and flattering"! "Berengarius Turonensis," in *Ausgewählte Werke*, iv. 76. *Donauöschingen*, 1822.

^z Lanf. de Euchar. c. 4. See Hist. Litt. viii. 263; Lessing, 79.

^a Bereng. de Sacra Cœna, p. 36, ed. Vischer, Berol. 1864. The discovery of

this work overthrows Mabillon's conjecture that Lanfranc referred to a different letter from that which now exists. *Acta SS.* IX. vii.

^b See Lessing, 80; Schröckh, xxiii. 516; Neander, vii. 227. The only other ground for these charges is a passage in the *Life of Lanfranc* by Milo Crispinus (c. 3). "Romam petierat causâ ejusdam clerici, nomine Berengarii, qui de sacramento altaris aliter dogmatizabat quam ecclesia tenet." But too much is made of this. The other evidence, and even the biographer's own context, oblige us to correct him by supposing that Lanfranc, while at Rome, was engaged in Berengar's case; not that he went to Italy on account of it.

only, without claiming any consideration for Lanfranc's character, we may fairly see reason to question these inferences. Lanfranc could not but have foreseen Berengar's obvious and plausible answer, and would hardly have provoked it, unless he were conscious that his story was nevertheless true. The mere rumour that a reputed heretic had written to him would naturally raise suspicions; and it would circulate far more widely than the contents of the letter. Nor was it necessary that Lanfranc should act the part of an informer; for Leo had in all likelihood heard of Berengar while yet bishop of Toul—situated as that see is in a district where Berengar's opinions had early excited attention, and on the direct road between the cities from which Adelman and Hugh had sent forth their remonstrances; and it is now known that the pope had spoken of Berengar's alleged errors before leaving Rome for his late circuit beyond the Alps.^c

A synod was held at Rome, where, after his letter to Lanfranc had been read, Berengar was excommunicated—a suitable punishment, say his opponents, for one who wished to deprive the church itself of its communion in the Saviour's body and blood.^d Lanfranc was then required to give an account of his faith, which he did to the satisfaction of the assembly; and Berengar, in order that he might have an opportunity of defending himself, was cited to a synod which was to meet at Vercelli in the following September. He was disposed to obey the summons, although some friends urged on him that, according to the canons, the pope's jurisdiction was limited to the case of appeals, and that questions ought to be decided in the province where they arose.^e But the king, Henry I., to whom he applied as the head of St. Martin's monastery, instead of aiding him in his journey, committed him to prison, seized his property, and laid on him a fine which, according to Berengar, was greater in amount than all that he had ever possessed.^f Being thus detained from attending the council, he was again condemned in his absence. A passage was read from the book ascribed to Scotus, in which the eucharist was

^c This appears from a letter of Bruno of Angers, first published by Sudendorf. See Sudend. 15, 99.

^d Lanf. 4; Bernold de Ber. Condemnatione Multiplici, ap. Hard. vi. 1013. The author of this tract, formerly styled 'Anonymus Chiffletianus,' after his first editor, Chifflet, was Bernold of Constance, the chronicler (Pertz, v. 38c). Berengar denies the charge.

De Sac. Cœn. 38.

^e Bereng. 41-2.

^f Ib. 42. That the application was made to Henry on account of his special connexion, as abbot, with St. Martin's—not, as Lessing (102) thought, on account of his general prerogative—see Schröckh, xxiii. 518-9; Staudlin, in Bereng. Præf. 14. Against Gfrörer, on this part of the story, see Sudend. 109.

spoken of as a figure, a token, a pledge, of the Saviour's body and blood. On this, Peter, a deacon of the Roman church—most probably Peter Damiani^g—exclaimed—"If we are still in the figure, when shall we get the reality?" Scotus was condemned, with his admirer, and his book was committed to the flames.^h One of Berengar's brother canons, who had been sent by the church of Tours to request the pope's intercession for his release, on hearing him styled a heretic, cried out to the speaker—"By the Almighty God, thou liest!" Another clerk, indignant at the summary condemnation of Scotus, protested that by such inconsiderate haste St. Augustine himself might be condemned; and the pope ordered that these two should be imprisoned, by way of protecting them from the fury of the multitude.ⁱ

Through the influence of Bruno and other friends, Berengar recovered his liberty. He protested loudly against the injustice done him by the pope, who ought, he said, rather to have resented the imprisonment of one who was on his way to his judgment-seat than to have taken advantage of it in order to condemn him in his absence;^k and he desired an opportunity of maintaining his opinions before a council.^m

It would seem to have been in 1051 that Berengar appeared in Normandy, and was condemned by a council held at Brionne in the presence of duke William;ⁿ and in the same year a council was summoned to meet at Paris for the consideration of his opinions. On this Theotwin, the successor of Wazo in the see of Liege, addressed a letter to king Henry. After stating that Berengar, in addition to his errors on the Eucharist, was accused of "destroying lawful marriage" and of denying infant-baptism—charges which seem to have been altogether groundless—he speaks of the difficulty arising from the circumstance that Bruno, one of Berengar's chief partisans, was a bishop, and therefore subject to the pope's judgment alone; and he suggests that, in order to overcome this difficulty, the king should not allow any discussion of the question, but should proceed against the Berengarians as heretics already condemned.^o The council was held in October;

^g As Lessing (103) and Sudendorf (109) suppose.

^h Lanf. 4; Bereng. 43; Bernold, ap. Hard. 1013.

ⁱ Bereng. 47 (in answer to Lanfranc's assertion that the two were sent to defend Berengar's cause, and that they broke down in the attempt, c. 4).

^k Bereng. 42.

^m Ep. ad Ricardum, Hard. vi. 1024-6; Neander, vi. 229.

ⁿ Durandi abbat. Troarnensis liber de corp. et sang. Christi (in Append. to Duchery's Lanfranc), p. 106. Sudendorf dates this work in 1058, p. 27.

^o Hard. vi. 1023-4.

Berengar, deterred by rumours which reached him, did not appear, and it is said that the assembly, not content with condemning his doctrine, and that of Scotus, decreed that he and his followers should be violently seized, and, in case of obstinacy, should be put to death.^p

In 1054 Berengar was cited to appear before a council which was to be held at Tours under Hildebrand, as legate. He looked forward to this as an opportunity of vindicating himself, and, before the meeting of the assembly, he showed the legate a collection of authorities for his doctrine.^q To the charge of asserting that the elements after consecration in no respect differed from what they before were, he answered that such was not his opinion; that he believed them after consecration to be the very body and blood of Christ.^r Hildebrand was content with this statement. He proposed that Berengar should accompany him to Rome, and should there clear himself before the pope; and that in the mean time he should give such explanations as might satisfy the assembled bishops. These explanations were received with some distrust; it was suggested that perhaps Berengar might say one thing with his mouth and hold another thing in his heart. He therefore confirmed the sincerity of his profession by an oath—that the bread and wine are, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ. But the serious illness of Leo obliged Hildebrand to return in haste to Rome, and the arrangement which had been made was not carried out.^s The enemies of Berengar represent that, being unable to defend his heresy, he recanted it at Tours, and afterwards renewed the profession of it.^t But this is a

^p Durand, Troarn. 107. Lessing altogether denies the truth of this writer's statements as to the councils of Brienne and Paris, and the genuineness of Theotwin's letter. Schröckh (xxiii. 520-2), Staudlin (ap. Vischer, 15), and Neander (vi. 231), are more or less for the councils. Gieseler (H. i. 280-1) points out that Theotwin's letter is proved to be genuine by Guimund's mention of it in his treatise against Berengar (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 441). He gives up the council of Paris, and thinks, as does also Sudendorf (12), that a passage of Berengar's letter to Ascelin, which speaks of a journey undertaken for the purpose of appearing before a council, relates to the council of Verceil. But he holds that Durand may be taken as authority for what passed in Normandy, where he himself lived. Sudendorf (31) points out a new evidence in fa-

vour of the council of Paris—the *Annales Elmonenses Minores*, published by Pertz (v. 20), which place it in October, 1051. I have followed him (12, 30) in adopting that year for both the councils—which Durand (probably from a failure of memory) refers to 1053, while some place them as early as 1050. One argument against the council of Brienne is, that the monastery of Pratelle (Préaux), whence Berengar is said to have gone to it, was not founded until 1053 (Höfer, ii. 112). But there is a charter of 1031 in its favour (Bouquet, xi. 387). And see Cossart, ap. Hard. vi. 1018; Nat. Alex. xiii. 508.

^q Sudendorf, 130.

^r Bereng. 50-1.

^s Ib. 52-3.

^t Lanfr. c. 3; Bernold, ap. Hard. vi. 1011.

misrepresentation founded on their misconception of what his doctrine really was.^a

The controversy rested throughout the pontificates of Victor and of Stephen, until 1059, when Berengar appeared at Rome before the synod held by Nicolas II.^x This appearance would seem to have been voluntary; he probably relied on the favour of Hildebrand, to whom he carried a letter from his only lay supporter whose name is known to us—Godfrey, count of Anjou,—requesting that the cardinal would not temporise, as at the council of Tours, but would openly befriend the accused.^y But the majority of the council proved to be strongly hostile; Berengar's friends were afraid to speak; and Hildebrand was unwilling to imperil his own influence, and the cause which he had most at heart, by encumbering himself with the defence of the suspected heretic.^z Berengar complains that the council treated him not only without Christian kindness, but without reason. They stopped their ears when he spoke of a *spiritual* participation in the eucharist;^a and, when he proceeded to argue in the dialectical form, they desired him to produce authority, rather than arguments which they dreaded as sophisms.^b He reproached the pope for exposing him to beasts, instead of instituting a deliberate inquiry by competent persons; to which Nicolas only replied that he must blame Hildebrand.^c Finding his attempts at a defence hopeless, Berengar desisted. A confession drawn up by cardinal Humbert, and embodying a strong and unequivocal assertion of a *material* change in the sacrament, was produced; and Berengar, overpowered, as he tells us, by the fear of death, and by the tumult of his opponents, took the document in his hands, prostrated himself in token of submission, and cast his own writings into the fire.^d

But on returning to his own country Berengar again openly taught his old opinions, and they were widely spread by the agency of poor students.^e He complained of the treatment which he had

^a Lessing (120) shows that Orderic Vitalis is wrong in supposing Lanfranc to have been at the council.

^x See p. 536.

^y Ep. x. in Sadendorf, 215-9, who gives a Life of Godfrey—a powerful, warlike, rough, and lawless prince, stepfather of the empress Agnes. The letter is evidently written by an ecclesiastic in Godfrey's name.

^z Neander, vi. 235.

^a Bereng. 63-72.

^b Lanfr. c. 7.

^c Bereng. 72-3.

^d Ib. He denies Lanfranc's statement (c. 2), that he subscribed and swore to the confession, which may be found in that place, or in Hardouin, vi. 1064. Lanfranc is said to have been present (Vita 8), but this seems hardly consistent with Berengar's words—"Ego longè verius te quid cum Nicolao egerim novi . . . manu, quid mentuliter ad te pervenit, non subscripsi," etc.

^e Bernold ap. Hard. vi. 1015; W. Malmesb. 462. Lessing (48-9) conjectures that he did not again publish his

received from the late council, to which (he said) he had gone, not as a culprit, but of his own free will;^f he reflected severely on Leo, Nicolas, Humbert, and the Roman church;^g he maintained that his own doctrine was that of St. Augustine, while the doctrine of Lanfranc and Paschasius was no better than "a dotage of the vulgar."^h Lanfranc wrote to reproach him; Berengar rejoined, and a controversy ensued in which the opinions of each party were brought out into greater distinctness than before.

Lanfranc's treatise 'Of the Body and Blood of the Lord' was written between 1063 and 1070.ⁱ The work opens by blaming Berengar for spreading his errors in an underhand manner, and for declining to argue before competent judges. Lanfranc then gives an account of the proceedings under Leo and Nicolas. He remarks on his opponent's dialectical subtleties.^k He asserts the doctrine of Paschasius, and supports it by quotations from ecclesiastical writers. That the elements after consecration are still called bread and wine, he accounts for by saying that in Scripture things are often called by the name of that from which they are made; thus man is called *earth, dust, ashes*; or they are named after something which they resemble—as Christ is styled a *lion* and a *lamb*.^m He represents Berengar as holding the sacraments to be nothing more than a figure and a memorial.ⁿ

Berengar replied in a treatise which, after having been long lost, has in late times thrown a new and important light on his opinions.^o He gives (as we have seen) a version of the previous history different in many respects from that which had been given by Lanfranc. His fault in the synod under Nicolas consisted (he says) not in having sworn—for that was not required of him)—

doctrines until after the deaths of Nicolas (1061) and of Humbert (1063).

^f Bereng. 72.

^g He styled the church "*ecclesiam malignantium, concilium vanitatis, nec apostolicam, sed sedem Satanæ*;" and, instead of *pontificem*, called Leo *pompificem* and *polpificem*. Lanfr. 16; Bernold. ap. Hard. vi. 1014. Cf. Bereng. 39, 41, 71.

^h Lanfr. 4.

ⁱ For the date, see Lessing, c. iii.; Schröckh, xxiii. 528; Gieseler, II. i. 285. The authors of the Hist. Litt. de la France (viii. 212, 288) had attempted to show that it was not written before 1079, so as to give it the credit of finally converting Berengar. Their argument, that, if Berengar had been still inclined to defend his errors, he would have answered it, is destroyed by the dis-

covery of the answer which he actually wrote (see below). The mention of the synod of 1079, in c. 2, on which the Hist. Litt. greatly relies, is an interpolation, found only in one MS. Lessing, 51-4.

^k C. 7.

^m C. 20. Berengar answers this, p. 78, seqq.

ⁿ C. 22. Ebrard thinks that it was this treatise which, for the first time, established Transubstantiation (i. 450). See above, p. 286.

^o Bereng. Turon. De Sacra Cena adv. Lanfrancum liber posterior, edd. A. et F. Vischer, Berol. 1834. The discovery of the MS. by Lessing, in the Wolfenbüttel Library, led him to write his 'Berengarius' (A.D. 1770), in which large extracts from it are given,

but in having been silent as to the truth.^p He had yielded to the fear of death and of the raging multitude, and in behalf of this weakness he cites the examples of Aaron and of St. Peter; to have adhered to the confession extorted from him would have been as if the Apostle had persisted in the denial of his Lord.^q There is something like effrontery in the tone of contempt and defiance which Berengar assumes after having submitted to such humiliations; but, while we cannot give him credit for the spirit of a martyr, his words are a valuable evidence for the uselessness of force as a means of religious conviction. He strongly protests against the use of swords and clubs and uproar by way of argument;^r he declares against the principle of being guided by the voice of a majority, while he yet states that the supporters of his views are "very many, or almost innumerable, of every rank and dignity."^s He defends his use of dialectics, and denies the charge of despising authority, although he holds reason to be "incomparably higher" as a means for the discovery of truth.^t He complains that he had been condemned, not only without a hearing, but even without a knowledge of his doctrines—especially at the council of Vercelli, when he had not set forth his opinions, nor had attained to such clearness in them as persecution and study had since brought to him.^u The doctrine which he lays down is very different from that which was imputed to him; he distinguishes between the visible sacrament and the inward part or thing signified;^v it is to the outward part only that he would apply the terms for which he had been so much censured—*sign, figure, pledge, or likeness*. He repeatedly declares that the elements are *converted* by consecration into the very body and blood of the Saviour;^w that the bread, from having before been something common, becomes the beatific body of Christ—not, however, by the corruption of the bread, or as if the body which has so long existed in a blessed immortality could now again begin to be;^x that consecration operates, not by destroying the previous substance, but by exalting it.^a It is not a portion of Christ's body that is present in each fragment,^b but He is fully present throughout.^c

On the side of Rome, the pontificate of Alexander II. was a

^p Pp. 61, 74.

^q P. 59.

^r E. g. pp. 59, 72-3.

^s P. 54, seqq.

^t P. 100.

^u Pp. 37-41, 64.

^v 'Res Sacramenti,' p. 114. See

Ebrard, i. 447.

^w P. 57.

^x P. 97.

^a Pp. 116, 188.

^b This very gross notion had been laid down in the synod of Arras. A.D. 1025, where it was said that the Host, on one occasion, appeared as "*pars digiti auricularis sanguine cruentata*." Gieseler, II. i. 288.

^c Pp. 119, 131; cf. 120, 139, 137, 143 &c.

season of peace for Berengar. The pope wrote to him in friendly terms, urging him to forsake his errors; and he replied by declaring himself resolved to adhere to his opinions.^d But no measures were taken against him, and, when he was persecuted by the nephews and successors of his old patron, Godfrey of Anjou, Alexander befriended and interceded for him.^e

In 1075, under the pontificate of Gregory, Berengar was brought before a council at Poitiers, where a legate presided; and such was the tumult that he hardly escaped with his life.^f About the same time, a Norman named Guitmund, a pupil of Lanfranc, and afterwards bishop of Aversa, wrote against him a dialogue 'Of the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist.'^g The tone of this work is very bitter. Guitmund repeats, with additions, the charges of errors which had been brought by Theotwin;^h he asserts that Berengar denied the possibility of our Lord's having entered through closed doors; it was no wonder, therefore, if he and his followers disbelieved the miracles of the church.ⁱ The most remarkable passage is one in which the writer draws a distinction between various kinds of Berengarians. All, he says, agree that there is no essential change in the elements; but some deny any presence, and allow only shadows and figures; some—which is said to be the "very subtle opinion" of Berengar himself—admit that the Saviour's body and blood are really and latently contained in the elements, and are, so to speak, *impanated*;—others, who are strongly opposed to Berengar, maintain that the elements are changed in part, and in part remain; while others, again, admit the entire change, but think that, when unworthy communicants approach, the bread and wine resume their natural substance.^k

Berengar was once more cited to Rome. The pope received him kindly, and, at a council in 1078,^m endeavoured to provide for his escape by a confession, which, while it avowed a change in the eucharistic elements, would have permitted him to retain his own opinions;ⁿ and against the authority of

^d Bernold, ap. Hard. vi. 1015.

^e Sudendorf, 151-4, 163.

^f Gieseler, II. i. 291.

^g Bibl. Patr. xviii. 440-468. The date varies between 1073 and 1077 (Gieseler, I. ii. 285; Sudendorf, 55). Guitmund had refused an English bishopric, offered to him by the Conqueror. He was afterwards nominated to the archbishopric of Rouen, but his enemies objected that he was the son of a priest.

Order. Vital. I. iv. t. ii. 226, 232. See for him, Hist. Litt. viii. 553, seqq.

^h See p. 611.

ⁱ P. 460.

^k Pp. 441-2.

^m See Hard. vi. 1015-6. Berengar's account of it is given by Martene and Durand, iv. 99, seqq.

ⁿ It asserted, however, the *identit*, of the eucharistic with the natural body of the Saviour.

Lanfranc he cited that of Peter Damiani.^o Berengar remained at Rome nearly a year; but the opposite party was vehement, and he was required to undergo the ordeal of hot iron. While, however, he was preparing for it by prayer and fasting, the pope intimated to him that the trial was not to take place; a monk, whom Gregory had desired to address himself by special devotion to the Blessed Virgin for instruction on the subject, had received a revelation that nothing ought to be added to the declarations of Scripture, and that Berengar's doctrine was sufficient.^p But his opponents pressed for stronger measures, the imperialists broadly impeached the pope's orthodoxy,^q and Berengar was alarmed by a rumour, that Gregory, to save his own reputation, was about to imprison him for life. At the Lent synod of 1079, which consisted of a hundred and fifty bishops and abbots,^r Berengar was required to sign a confession that the elements are "substantially" changed into the real, proper, and life-giving body and blood of Christ. A bold evasion suggested itself to his mind—that *substantially* might be interpreted to mean *retaining their substance!* and he professed himself ready to subscribe.^s In answer to a question whether he understood the form in the same sense as the council, he said that he understood it agreeably to the doctrine which he had privately explained to the pope some days before. Such a speech was not likely to be acceptable to Gregory, who thereupon told him that he must prostrate himself in token of unreserved submission, and must own that he had hitherto sinned in denying a substantial change. Berengar, in fear of anathema and of violence, obeyed—as God (he says) did not give him constancy;^t and, after having been charged to refrain from teaching, except for the purpose of recovering those whom he had misled, he was dismissed with letters of recommendation to the bishops of Tours and Angers, and with another letter in which the pope ordered that no one should injure him in person or in property, and that no one should reproach him as a heretic, forasmuch as he had been acknowledged as a son of the Roman church.^u

After returning to France, Berengar regretted his late compliance, and once more resumed the profession of his own opinions. In 1080, he was summoned before a council at Bordeaux,^x where

^o Bereng. ap. Mart. 103.

^p *Ib.* 108.

^q Bowden, ii. 246. Gregory was often reproached by them for favouring Berengar. Benno (ap. Goldast. 3) attacks him for ordering a fast with re-

ference to this question.

^r Bernold (who was himself present), in Hard. vi. 1016.

^s Ber. ap. Mart. 105.

^t *Ib.* 109.

^u Hard. vi. 1585.

^x Hard. vi. 1587.

his statements seem to have been accepted; and he was allowed to spend his last years unmolested in the island of St. Côme, near Tours, where he died in 1088.^y The latest of his known writings is a letter written on the occasion of Gregory's death, in which he speaks of the pope with regard, expresses a conviction of his salvation, and excuses his behaviour towards himself.^z

The memory of Berengar was revered in the district of Tours, and there was, down to late times, a yearly solemnity at his tomb.^a Hence it has been argued that he finally renounced his heresy,^b having, as was supposed, been converted by Lanfranc's book. But the groundlessness of that supposition has been abundantly shown by the discovery of his answer to Lanfranc; nor is there any reason to question the statement of his contemporary Bernold that he persevered in his opinions to the last.^c The recovery of his treatise, and of other writings, has placed his doctrines in a clearer light, and it is now acknowledged by writers of the Roman church that, instead of supposing the Eucharist to be merely figurative, he acknowledged in it a real spiritual change, while he denied that doctrine of a material change which has become distinctive of their own communion.^d

^y Chron. Turon. ap. Bouquet, xii. 465. William of Malmesbury gives his epitaph, by Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, 463.

^z Sadendorf, 232.

^a It was celebrated in Noël Alexandre's day (xiii. 522), and may possibly be so still.

^b Mabillon, Acta SS. IX. xxviii.; Nat. Alex. xiii. 522; Pagi, xvii. 598; Döllinger, i. 378. To these Romanists is to be added the "Old Lutheran" Guerike, who still treats him as a Calvinistic heretic. ii. 168-174.

^c Hard. vi. 1016. The chronicle of Tours, however, says that he died "fidelis et vere Catholicus," ap. Bouquet, xii. 465. William of Malmesbury says, "*Evo austeriore ita resipuit, ut sine retractione a quibusdam sanctus*

habeatur, innumeris bonis, maximeque humilitate et elemosynis, approbatus, &c. (462). Coleridge, in the translation of "the last words of Berengarius," on which his own eloquent lines are founded, has overlooked the real point of the saying in Malmesbury (465)—"*Hodie . . . apparebit mihi Dominus meus Jesus Christus, propter penitentiam, ut spero, ad gloriam; vel propter alius* (i. e. those whom he had led astray) *ut timeo, ad penam.*"

^d Mabillon inferred this from the MS. of the synod of 1079, Acta SS. IX. xv.-xxii. See the note on Nat. Alex. xiii. 521; Martene et Dur. iv. 107. Bp. Cosin had vindicated him while less was known of his writings (iv. 116), and had been blamed for so doing by Fecht, a Romanist, quoted by Lessing, 17.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII. TO THAT OF THE EMPEROR
HENRY IV. — THE FIRST CRUSADE.

A.D. 1085-1106.

GREGORY VII. left behind him a powerful and resolute party. It could reckon on the alliance of the Normans, for whom it was important that the pope should be favourable to their own interest rather than to that of the emperor; and it was supported by the devoted attachment of the Countess Matilda.^a On the other hand, the emperor's strength in Italy was greater in appearance than in reality; for, although many of the chief cities were with him, a strong desire of independence had arisen among them, and he could not safely reckon on them unless in so far as his interest coincided with their private objects.^b

When asked on his deathbed to recommend a successor, Gregory had named Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, and first cardinal-presbyter of the Roman church, and had desired that, if the abbot should refuse the papacy, either Otho, bishop of Ostia, Hugh, archbishop of Lyons—the same who, as bishop of Die, had been legate in France^c—or Anselm, bishop of Lucca, the chaplain and chief counsellor of Matilda, should be chosen.^d The general wish was for Desiderius, but he obstinately refused—perhaps from unwillingness to exchange his peaceful dignity for one which, although loftier, must involve him in violent contentions with the emperor and the antipope.^e A year had elapsed, when, at Whitsuntide, 1086, he was persuaded to go to Rome, supposing that he was then no longer in danger of having the popedom forced on him. Preparations were made for an election, and, by the advice of Desiderius, Otho was about to be chosen, when an objection was raised that he was canonically disqualified, as being already

^a Planck, iv. 208.

^b Ib. 219.

^c See Hug. Flav. in Pertz, viii. 410, 460.

^d Chron. Casin. iii. 65; Hug. Flav. l. ii. (Pertz, viii. 466); Codex Udalrici, 166. Paul of Bernried (109, 111) and Anselm's biographer (c. 32, ap. Pertz,

xii.), although they state that Gregory bequeathed his mitre to Anselm, "tanquam potestatem suam ligandi et solvendi, sed et miracula, credo, faciendi," say nothing of his including him in the recommendation. Anselm died in March 1086. Pagi, xvii. 574.

^e Chron. Casin. iii. 65; Stenzel, i. 539.

a bishop. Although this impediment had in later times often been disregarded, the mention of it served to divert the multitude, who cried out for Desiderius. The abbot, struggling, and refusing to put on a part of the pontifical dress, was enthroned, and greeted as Victor III.; but immediately afterwards he left the city, and, renouncing the dignity which had been thrust on him, withdrew to his monastery.^f

Ten months more passed away, and in March, 1087, Desiderius summoned a council to meet at Capua, with a view to a new election. At this meeting Roger, son of Robert Guiscard,^g and Jordan, prince of Capua, with a number of bishops, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated him to retain the papacy; but Hugh of Lyons and Otho of Ostia objected to him, and required an examination into his conduct. By this opposition Desiderius was determined to accept the position which he had so long declined.^h He repaired to Rome under the protection of a Norman force, which wrested St. Peter's from the antipope; and on the 9th of May he was consecrated.ⁱ The partisans of Guibert, however, soon after recovered possession of the church, and, after the fashion of the ancient Donatists, they washed the altars in order to cleanse them from the pollution of the Ilildebrandine mass.^k

Although the new pope had been among the most devoted of Gregory's adherents, it would seem that he was now weary of conflict, and was desirous to make peace.^m Of his late opponents, Otho submitted to him; but Hugh, who himself aspired to the papacy, addressed to Matilda a letter, in which he charged him with apostasy from Gregory's policy, and with a disposition to grant unworthy concessions to the emperor.ⁿ By this letter Victor was greatly exasperated, and, at a synod at Benevento, in the month of August, he excommunicated the archbishop. At this synod the anathema against the antipope, and the decrees against investiture were renewed. After three sessions had been held, the pope fell ill; and, having been removed to Monte Cassino, he died on the 16th September.^o Victor has left three books of Dialogues, which are valuable as throwing light on the history of his time, while, by the excessive credulity which he displays, as

^f Chron. Casin. iii. 66-7.

^g Guiscard had died in Cephalonia, on a new expedition against the Greek empire, July, 1785. Gibbon, v. 356.

^h Letter of Hugh to Matilda, in Hug. Flavin. (Pertz, viii. 467); Chron. Casin. iii. 68.

ⁱ Chron. Casin. iii. 68 9.

^k Ib. 69.

^m Stenzel, i. 540.

ⁿ Hug. Flav. p. 467.

^o Chron. Casin. iii. 72-3. Fabulous accounts of his death are given by William of Malmesbury (446) and others.

well as by their form, they remind us of his model, the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.^p

Another long vacancy in the popedom followed. The antipope had possession of Rome, and the emperor's power was formidable to the inheritors of Gregory's principles. But they were encouraged by the resolution of Matilda; and, in March, 1088, a council met at Terracina for the election of a successor to Victor. In consideration of the difficulties of the time, the form of election prescribed by Nicolas II. was set aside. About forty bishops and abbots were present, together with envoys from the Great Countess, and from some prelates beyond the Alps. The clergy of Rome were represented by the bishop of Porto; the people, by the prefect of the city; and Otho, bishop of Ostia, who had again been recommended by Victor on his deathbed, was unanimously chosen.^q

The new pope, who took the name of Urban II., was a Frenchman of noble family. He was educated at Rheims, under Bruno, afterwards famous as the founder of the Carthusian order, and became a canon of that city; but he resigned his position to enter the monastery of Cluny. In consequence of a request which Gregory had made, that the abbot would send him some monks who might be fit for the episcopate, Otho was sent to Rome in 1076; he was employed by the pope in important business, and was advanced to the see of Ostia.^r Urban's principles were the same with those of Gregory, and, although he had not the originality of his master, he was not inferior to him in firmness, activity, or enterprise; while with these qualities he combined an artfulness and a caution which were more likely to be successful than Gregory's undisguised audacity and assumption.^s

Urban found his city almost entirely in the hands of a rival, so that, on visiting it, he was obliged to find shelter in the island of the Tiber; while such was his poverty that he was indebted to one of the Frangipani family, and even to some women of the humblest class, for the means of subsistence.^t Rome was the scene of continual struggles between the opposite parties. Their mutual exasperation may be imagined from an instance on each side: that Bonizo, a zealous partisan of Urban, on being appointed to the

^p They are in *Bibl. Patr.* xviii.

^q *Chron. Casin.* iv. 2.

^r *Order. Vital.* iv. 11. (t. ii. 244).
Hist. Litt. viii. 516.

^s Stenzel, i. 542; Milman, iii. 211.

^t Bernold, *Ann.* 1089 (p. 448);
Schröckh, xxv. 14. The following epigrams are said to have passed be-

tween Clement and Urban—

CLEM. "Dixeris Urbanus, cum sis projectus ab urbe;

Vel multa nomen, vel regrediatis pat urbem."

URB. "Clemens nomen habes, sed Clemens non potes esse,

Tradita solvendi cum sit tibi nulla potestas."—*Hist. Litt.* viii. 520-1.

see of Parma, after having been expelled from that of Sutri, was blinded and put to death with horrible mutilation by the imperialists of his new city ;^u and that Urban declared it lawful to kill excommunicate persons, provided that it were done out of zeal for the church.^x

Henry, when compelled by Robert Guiscard to retire from Rome, had returned to Germany in 1084. He found the country in great disorder, and in August 1086 he was defeated by the Saxons and their allies, at the Bleichfeld, near Würzburg.^y But by degrees his strength increased ; in the following year he received the submission of his rival Herman,^z and in 1088 he reduced the Saxons to tranquillity.^a In consequence of these successes, the bishops of the opposite party were expelled from their sees, so that Urban had only four adherents among the prelates of Germany.^b While the warriors fought the battles of the papacy and the empire with the sword, the Theologians of the parties carried on a fierce controversy with the pen—some of them with learning, decency, and Christian feeling ; others with outrageous violence, reckless falsehood, and contemptible buffoonery.^c

In 1089, Urban issued a decree by which the sentences of Gregory were somewhat modified. Anathema was denounced in the first degree against the emperor and the antipope ; in the second degree, against such as should aid them, or should receive ecclesiastical dignities from them ; while those who should communicate with them were not anathematised, but were not to be admitted to catholic fellowship except after penance and absolution.^d In the same year the antipope Clement was driven out of Rome by the

^u Bernold, A.D. 1089, p. 449. See Bonizo's opinion of Parma, p. 580, n. d.

^x Ep. ad Godefr. Ep. Lucanum, Jaffé, 461 ; Schröckh, xxvi. 17. The same doctrine had been propounded in Gregory's time by a fanatical priest named Manegold, who also held that the "Henricians" might not be prayed for, because they sinned against the Holy Ghost. Although Manegold was considered by some to be "homo importunus," his writings were received "as the answers of a heavenly oracle" by others. Gieseler, II. ii. 29.

^y Ekkeh. 206 ; Bernold, 445.

^z Ekkeh. 207.

^a Annal. Saxo. 723.

^b Ib. 722 ; Ekkeh. 209 ; Bernold, 449.

^c See Stenzel, i. 496-515. Among the respectable writers on Henry's side were Waltram of Naumburg, Siegbert

of Gemblours, Theodoric of Verdun, and Guy of Ferrara ; among those who disgraced it were Beuno of Osnaburg, and Benzo. The bishop of Ferrara's treatise "De Schismate Hildebrandi" is published for the first time in vol. xii. of Pertz' 'Monumenta' (which has reached England during the printing of this volume). The author had been an adherent of Gregory, but after the pope's death joined the imperialists. In the first book he appears strenuously to defend Gregory ; but the second is a dialogue between a very simple "Proponeus" and a "Respondens" of Clement's party, who overthrows all that had been before said. The work was written between 1085 and 1100 (p. 149).

^d Urban. Ep. 1, Appendix ; Bernold, 449.

citizens, who are said to have exacted from him an oath that he would not attempt to recover his dignity.^e Negotiations were soon after opened between the parties, on the condition that Henry should be acknowledged as emperor, and Urban as pope. But the treaty was broken off through the influence of the imperialist bishops, who naturally apprehended that they might be sacrificed to the proposed reconciliation.^f

Urban now persuaded Matilda, at the age of forty-three, to enter into a second marriage with a youth of eighteen—the younger Welf, son of the duke of Bavaria.^g The marriage was one of policy; the pope hoped to secure by it a male head for his lay adherents, to fix the allegiance of Matilda, who had now no longer the guidance of Anselm of Lucca, and to engage the elder Welf to exert all his influence in Germany against the emperor.^h On hearing of the event, which had for some time been kept secret from him, Henry crossed the Alps in the spring of A.D. 1090, and for three years ravaged Matilda's territories.ⁱ 1090-2. Mantua, after a siege of six months, was surrendered to him by treachery.^k The countess, reduced to great distress, entered into negotiations at Carpineto, and was about to yield, even Sept. 1092. to the recognition of Clement as pope, when the abbot of Canossa, starting up with the air of a prophet, declared that to conclude peace on such terms would be a sin against every Person of the Divine Trinity, and the treaty was broken off.^m October. Henry attempted to take Canossa, the scene of his memorable humiliation; but he was foiled, partly through the dense gloom of the weather, and lost his standard, which was hung up as a trophy in the church of the castle.ⁿ

The antipope had found means of re-establishing himself at Rome in 1091;^o but in 1094 Urban again got possession of the Lateran, through the treachery of the governor, who offered to surrender it for a certain sum. The pope had no means of raising the money until Godfrey, abbot of Vendôme, who had arrived at Rome on a pilgrimage of devotion, enabled him to complete the bargain.^p

The empress Bertha had died in 1088,^q and in the following year Henry had married Adelaide or Praxedis, a Russian princess,

^e Bernold, 450.

^f Ibid.; Schröckh, xxvi. 15.

^g Bernold, 449.

^h Schmidt, ii. 339.

ⁱ Bernold, pp. 450-3.

^k Donizo, l. ii. cc. 4-5; Bernold, A.D. 1091, p. 451.

^m Donizo, ii. c. 7. See Muratori's note in Pertz, xii. 392.

ⁿ Donizo, ii. cc. 680-723.

^o Bernold, 451.

^p Milman, iii. 213.

^q Ekkehard, in ann.

and widow of Uto, marquis of Saxony.^r The marriage was unhappy, and Henry relapsed into the laxity of his early life.* But worse infamies were now imputed to him;† it was asserted that he had compelled Adelaide to prostitute herself to his courtiers, that he had required his son Conrad to commit incest with her, and that, when the prince recoiled with horror from the proposal, he had threatened to declare him a supposititious child.^u The empress made her way to Matilda, and her story was related before a synod at Constance, in 1094.^x What her motives may have been for publishing a tale so revolting, so improbable, and in parts so contradictory of itself—whether she were disordered in mind, or whether, in her ignorance of the language in which her depositions were drawn up, she subscribed them without knowing their contents—it is vain to conjecture.^y But it furnished her husband's enemies with a weapon which they employed with terrible effect against him.

Conrad, a youth of gentle, studious, devout, and dreamy character,^z appears to have been tampered with by some of the anti-imperialist clergy. The long and hopeless contentions of the time, its rude hostilities, the schism of western Christendom, were likely to be deeply distasteful to him;^a and it would seem that he was preparing to leave his father, when Henry, suspecting the intention, committed him to custody. He found, however, means to escape, and repaired to the court of Matilda, by whom he was received with honour, while Urban released him from his share in the emperor's excommunication. He was crowned at Monza as king of Italy, by Anselm, archbishop of Milan; and many Lombard cities declared in his favour against the emperor.^b How little Conrad's own will concurred in the movements of which he was the nominal head, appears from the fact that he always continued to style Henry his lord and emperor, and would not allow him to be spoken of with disrespect.^c The rebellion of his son inflicted on Henry a blow in comparison of which all his earlier sufferings had

^r Ekkeh. A.D. 1089; Annal. Saxo. p. 721. Some writers strangely make her a sister of Godfrey of Bouillon. Hist. Litt. viii. 599, 603, adopts this view.

See Gieseler, II. ii. 40.

^s Luden, ix. 255.

^u Donizo, ii. c. 8; Bernold, Ann. 1094, p. 458; Dodechin, Ann. 1093.

^x Bernold, 457-8. It is commonly said that she herself told it there; but, as Luden remarks (ix. 609), this does

not seem to be implied in the chronicler's words—"querimonia pervenit."

^y See Gibbon, v. 407; Schröckh, xxvi. 18; Stenzel, i. 552; Sismondi, iv. 499; Luden, ix. 256; Gieseler, II. ii. 40; Milman, iii. 216.

^z Ekkehard, 211; Milman, iii. 213.

^a Stenzel, i. 550. See Luden, ix. 251-2.

^b Bernold, 456.

^c Ekkehard, 211.

been as nothing. He cast off his robes, secluded himself in moody silence, and, it is said, was with difficulty prevented from putting an end to his own life.^d

But a new movement, which now began, was to be far more valuable to Urban and to the papacy than any advantages which could have resulted from the contest with the emperor.

For many years the hardships inflicted on pilgrims by the Mahometan masters of the Holy Land had roused the pity and the indignation of Christendom.^e The stream of pilgrimage had continued to flow, and with increasing fulness. Sometimes the pilgrims went in large bodies, which at once raised the apprehensions of the Musulmans that they might attempt to take possession of the country, and, by the wealth which was displayed, excited their desire of plunder. A company, headed by Lietbert, bishop of Cambrai, in 1054, was so numerous that it was styled "the host of the Lord."^f Ten years later, on a revival of the belief that the day of judgment was at hand,^g a still greater expedition set out under Siegfried of Mentz, whose mean and tortuous career was varied from time to time by fits of penitence and devotion. The pilgrims were repeatedly attacked, and, out of 7000 who had left their homes, more than 5000 fell victims to the dangers, the fatigues, and the privations of the journey.^h

A new race of conquerors, the Seljookian Turks, had appeared in the east. They carried their arms into Asia Minor, wrested all but the western coast of it from the Greeks, humiliated the empire by taking its sovereign, Romanus Diogenes, prisoner in 1071, and founded the kingdom of Roum, of which Nicæa, the city venerable for the definition of orthodox Christianity, became the capital.ⁱ In 1076 they gained possession of Palestine, which they held for twenty years. Under these new masters, the condition of the Christian inhabitants and pilgrims was greatly altered for the worse.

^d Bernold, 456.

^e Wilken, i. 45.

^f Wilken, i. 35; Michaud, i. 42.

^g The ground was, that Easter fell on March 27, which was marked in the Calendar as the anniversary of the Resurrection. Vita Altmanni Patav. c. 3, ap. Pertz, xii.

^h Lambert, Ann. 1064-5. Marianus Scotus ap. Pertz, v. 559; Vita Altmanni, 3-5. Among these pilgrims was Ingulf, an Englishman by birth, who had been secretary to William of Normandy, and afterwards became abbot of

Croyland (Orderic, Vital. ii. 285). The History of Croyland which bears his name is shown to be spurious by Sir F. Palgrave in the 'Quarterly Review,' xxxiv. 289-296 (compare Stevenson, Pref. to Ingulf); and to the anachronism there noted it may be added that Sophronius, who died in 1059, is named as patriarch of Jerusalem at the time of the pilgrimage. It would seem, however, that the "Historia Croylandensis" is founded on a genuine earlier work. See Lingard, i. 460.

ⁱ See Gibbon, ch. lviii.

With the manners of barbarians the Turks combined the intolerant zeal of recent converts to Islam; and the feelings of European Christians were continually excited by reports of the exactions, the insults, and the outrages to which their brethren in the east were subjected.^k

The idea of a religious war for the recovery of the Holy Land was first proclaimed (as we have seen^m) by Sylvester II. Gregory VII., in the beginning of his pontificate, had projected a crusade, and had endeavoured to enlist the emperor and other princes in the cause;ⁿ but, as the object was not to deliver the Holy Land but to succour the Byzantine empire, his proposal failed to excite any general enthusiasm, and led to no result.^o His successor, Victor, had published an invitation to a war against the Saracens of Africa, with a promise of remission of all sins to those who should engage in it; and a successful expedition had been the consequence.^p But now a greater impulse was to be given to such enterprises.^q

Peter, a native of Amiens, had been a soldier in his youth. He was married, but withdrew from the society of his wife into a monastery, and afterwards became a hermit.^r In 1093, he visited Jerusalem, where his spirit was greatly stirred by the sight of the indignities which the Christians had to endure. He suggested to the patriarch Symeon an application for aid to the Byzantine emperor; the patriarch replied that the empire was too weak; but that the Christians of the west could help effectually, by prayers if not by arms. On his return to Europe, Peter presented himself before the pope, related his interview with Symeon, and enforced the patriarch's request by a story of a vision in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the Saviour had appeared to him, and had charged him to rouse the western nations for the delivery of the Holy Land.^s Urban listened with approbation, but, instead of at once committing himself to the enterprise, he desired Peter to publish it by way of sounding the general feeling. The hermit set forth, roughly

^k Gibbon, v. 403.

^m P. 405.

ⁿ See p. 572.

^o Sybel, 189; Milman, iii. 228.

^p Chron. Casin. iii. 71.

^q For such a sketch of the first crusade as can be here given, it has seemed sufficient to add to my ordinary authorities the histories by Wilken, Michaud, and Sybel (*Der erste Kreuzzug*, Düsseldorf, 1841), with the *Essays on the Influence of the Crusades* by Heeren (*Histor. Werke*, ii. Göttingen, 1824); and Choiseul Daillecourt (Paris, 1824).

Of the two great modern histories, Wilken's is the more solid and Michaud's the more interesting. Von Sybel aspires to be the Niebuhr of the Crusade—dissecting the old narratives and reconstructing the story.

^r Gibbon, v. 405. Orderic calls him *De Acheris*. M. Le Prevost thinks that the name *L'Ermite* was derived from his father; that Peter was not a hermit, and that he did not become a monk until his return from the crusade. N. on Orderic, iii. 477.

^s Schröckh. xxv. 43; Wilken, i. 48.

dressed, with a thick cord round his waist, with his head and feet bare, and riding on a mule.[†] Short of stature, lean, of dark complexion, with a head disproportionately large, but with an eye of fire, and a rude, glowing eloquence, he preached to high and to low, in churches and on highways, the sufferings of their brethren, and the foul desecrations of the land which had been hallowed by their Redeemer's birth and life. He read letters from the patriarch and other Christians, with one which he professed to have received from heaven.[‡] When words and breath failed him, he wept, he groaned, he beat his breast, and pointed to a crucifix which he kissed with fervent devotion. Some, it is said, regarded him as a hypocrite;[§] but the vast mass listened with rapture. The hairs which fell from his mule were treasured up as precious relics. Gifts were showered on him, and were distributed by him as alms. He reconciled enemies, startled many from gross sin, reclaimed women from a life of profligacy, and provided them with husbands. In no long time he was able to return to the pope, with a report that everywhere his tale had been received with enthusiasm, so that he had with difficulty restrained his hearers from at once taking arms and following him to the Holy Land.[¶]

The pope appears to have been sincerely interested in the enterprise for its own sake; yet he can hardly have failed to apprehend something of the advantages which he was likely to reap from it. It opened to him the prospect of uniting all Christian Europe in one cause, of placing himself at the head of a movement which might lift him triumphantly above the antipope, and might secure for the church a victory over the temporal power, of putting an end to the schism which had so long divided the Greek from the Latin Christianity.[‡] And, while the greater part of his own city was still in the hands of a rival—while he was embroiled in deadly hostility with the most powerful sovereign of the west—Urban boldly resolved to undertake the great work.

A council was summoned to meet at Piacenza in March 1095. The pope appeared, surrounded by two hundred bishops, four thousand clergy, and thirty thousand laity; and, as no building was large enough to contain the vast multitude, the greater sessions were held in a plain near the city.[¶] The project of a holy war was

[†] Radolph. Cadomensis, ap. Muratori, v. 61.

Michaud, i. 55-6; Neander, vii. 171; Milman, iii. 231.

[‡] Dodechin, Ann. 1096, p. 663; Annal. Saxo. 728.

[§] Schröckh, xxv. 53; Milman, iv. 232.

[¶] Ekkehard, Ann. 1096.

[¶] Hard. vi. 1714; Bernold, 462; Gib-

bon, v. 406; Wilken, i. 49; bon, v. 407.

set forth; ambassadors from the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, stated the distress of the eastern Christians, and the formidable advances of the Turks. These details moved the hearers to tears; the pope added his exhortations, and many bound themselves by oath to engage in the crusade.^b But the Italians of that day possessed neither the religious enthusiasm nor the valour which would have fitted them to bear the brunt of such an enterprise; and Urban resolved that the grand inauguration of it should take place in his native country.

Other affairs were also transacted at Piacenza. Canons were passed against Simoniacs, Nicolaitans, and Berengarians; the antipope was solemnly anathematised; and the empress Adelaide was brought forward to excite indignation and revolt against her husband by the story of his alleged offences.^c

In his progress towards France, the pope was received at Cremona by Conrad, who obsequiously held his stirrup.^d The prince was rewarded by a promise of Germany and the imperial crown, and was yet further bound to the papal interest by a marriage which Urban and Matilda arranged for him with a wealthy bride, the daughter of Roger, Great Count of Sicily.^e On entering France the pope was met by the gratifying information that Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, had at length succeeded in procuring his recognition in England.^f

The case of Philip, king of France, divided the pope's attention with the crusade. Philip, whose increasing sloth and sensuality had continued to lower him in the estimation of his feudatories and subjects, had in 1092 repudiated his queen Bertha and married Bertrada, wife of Fulk, count of Anjou.^g The separation and the marriage were justified on the ground that both Bertha and Bertrada were within the forbidden degrees of relationship to their first husbands—a pretext which, between the extension of the prohibitory canons, and the complicated connexions of princely houses,

^b Bernold, 462; Gibbon, v. 408. Some writers question the Greek embassy. As to a letter, said to have been written by Alexius to Robert, count of Flanders, see Michaud, i. 57, and Sybel, 8, who think it genuine, at least in substance.

^c Bernold, 462. Adelaide retired into a nunnery. Dodechin, 662.

^d Bernold, 463.

^e Bernold, 463; Malaterra, iv. 23.

^f Milman, iii. 220. See the next chapter.

^g Fulk, when he married Bertrada, had two other wives living (Hist. Litt. ix. 393). He is celebrated in the history of fashion as having invented, for the purpose of concealing his ill-shaped feet, the long-pointed shoes "en poulaine," which for three centuries defied the anathemas of councils (Order. Vital. iii. 323; Sismondi, iv. 500). He afterwards married a fourth wife, and was visited on friendly terms by Philip and Bertrada. Orderic, iii. 388.

would have been sufficient to warrant the dissolution of almost any marriage in the highest orders of society. No one of Philip's immediate subjects would venture to officiate at the nuptial ceremony, which was performed by a Norman bishop—perhaps Odo of Bayeux;^h but the union had been sanctioned by a council at Rheims in 1094. The pious and honest Ives, bishop of Chartres, alone openly protested against it; he disregarded a citation to the council, and was not to be moved either by the king's entreaties, or by the forfeiture of his property and by imprisonment.ⁱ Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, who had been reconciled with Urban and restored to his office of legate,^k excommunicated the king in a council at Autun, which was not then within the kingdom of France;^m but Philip obtained absolution from Urban, by swearing that, since he had become aware of the pope's objections to his marriage, he had abstained from conjugal intercourse with Bertrada. The pope, however, now knew that this story was false, and was resolved to strike a decisive blow.

A council had been summoned to meet at Clermont in Auvergne. The citations to it were urgent, and charged the clergy to stir up the laity in the cause of the crusade.ⁿ Among the vast assemblage which was drawn together were fourteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, and about a hundred abbots;^o the town and all the neighbouring villages were filled with strangers, while great numbers were obliged to lodge in tents.^p The sessions lasted ten days;^q the usual canons were passed in condemnation of simony, pluralities and impropriations; the observation of the Truce of God was enjoined;^r and Urban ventured to advance a step beyond Gregory, by forbidding not only the practice of lay investiture, but that any ecclesiastic should swear fealty to a temporal lord—a prohibition which was intended entirely to do away with all dependence of the church on the secular power.^s Philip, the suzerain, although not the immediate ruler, of

^h Orderic says so, iii. 387, but see the editor's note.

ⁱ Ivo, ap. Hard. vi. 1709; ap. Baron. 1094, 10-6; 1095, 15-23; Neander, vii. 167.

^k Hist. Litt. ix. 310.

^m Hard. vi. 1711.

ⁿ Wilken, i. 51.

^o See as to the various reports of the numbers, Hist. Litt. viii. 225.

^p Michaud, i. 59.

^q There is no official record of the council, and our accounts of it must be

drawn from the chroniclers. Hist. Litt. viii. 544.

^r Hard. vi. 1718-20.

^s C. 15. The reason assigned was, in somewhat stronger language, the same which had been advanced by Hincmar (see p. 470)—that it was abominable that hands which consecrated the Body of the Lord should be defiled by being placed between hands stained by impurity, rapine, and bloodshed (c. 9, ap. Hard. vi. 1739; Roger Hoveden, 268). De Marca (VIII. xxi. 4) and others

the country in which the council was held, was excommunicated for his adultery with Bertrada ; and, startling as such an act would have been at another time, it was not only allowed to pass, but even was unnoticed, amid the engrossing interest of the greater subject which filled the minds of all.^t

At the sixth session the crusade was proposed. Urban ascended a pulpit in the market-place and addressed the assembled multitude. He dwelt on the ancient glories of Palestine, where every foot of ground had been hallowed by the presence of the Saviour, of His Virgin Mother, and other saints. Even yet, he said, God vouchsafed to manifest his favour to it, in the yearly miracle of the light from heaven by which the lamps of the holy sepulchre were kindled at the season of the Saviour's passion—a miracle which ought to soften all but flinty hearts.^u He enlarged on the present condition of the sacred territory—possessed as it was by a godless people, the children of the Egyptian handmaid ; on the indignities, the outrages, the tyranny which they inflicted on Christians redeemed by Christ's blood. He appealed to many of those who were present as having themselves been witnesses of these things. Nor did he forget to speak of the progressive encroachments of the Turks on Christendom—of the danger which threatened Constantinople, the treasury of so many renowned and precious relics.^x “ Cast out the bondwoman and her son ! ” he cried ; “ Let all the faithful arm. Go forth, and God shall be with you. Turn against the enemies of the Christian name the weapons which you have stained with mutual slaughter. Redeem your sins by obedience—your rapine, your burnings, your bloodshed. Let the famous nation of the Franks display their valour in a cause where death is the assurance of blessedness. Count it joy to die for Christ where Christ died for you. Think not of kindred or home ; you owe to God a higher love ; for a Christian, every place is exile, every place is home and country.” He insisted on the easiness of the remedy for sin which was now proposed—the relaxation of all penance in favour of those who should assume the cross.^y They were to be taken under the protection of the church ; their persons and their property were to be respected, under the penalty of excommunication. For himself, he would, like Moses,

have supposed that Gregory issued a similar decree ; but this is a mistake, although there can be little doubt that the abolition of homage was part of his plan. Planck, IV. ii. 13.

^t Milman, iii. 221.

^u Hard. vi. 1726, b.

^x Hug. Floriac. ap. Pertz, ix. 392.

^y Plenary indulgence was now, for the first time, introduced. Fleury, Disc. sur les Croisades, c. 2.

held up his hands in prayer for them, while they were engaged in fighting the Amalekites.^z

The pope's speech was interrupted by an enthusiastic exclamation from the whole assemblage—"It is the will of God"^a—words which afterwards became the war-cry of the Crusaders; and when he ceased, thousands enlisted for the enterprise by attaching the cross to their shoulders. The most important promise of service was that of Raymond, the powerful count of Toulouse, who was represented at the council by envoys.^b Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, who had already been a pilgrim to Jerusalem,^c stepped forward with a joyous look, declared his intention of joining the crusade, and begged the papal benediction.^d A cardinal pronounced a confession of sins in the name of all who were to share in the expedition, and the pope bestowed his absolution on them. Adhemar was nominated as legate for the holy war; the pope, in answer to a request that he would himself head the Christian army, excused himself on the ground that the care of the church detained him; but he promised to follow as soon as circumstances should allow.^e The festival of the Assumption (August 15) in the following year was fixed on as the day on which the Crusaders should set out.

Urban remained in France until August of the year 1096, and held many councils at which he enforced the duty of joining the Holy War. The bishops and clergy seconded his exhortations, and a general ferment of preparation arose. Famines, pestilences, civil broils, portents in the heavens, had produced a general disposition to leave home and to engage in a career of adventure.^f Women urged their husbands, their brothers, and their sons to take the cross; and those who refused became marks for general contempt.^g Lands were sold or mortgaged, to raise the means of equipment for their owners; artisans and husbandmen sold their tools; the price of property fell, while horses and arms became

^a On the various versions of Urban's speech, see *Hist. Litt.* viii. 547-557; Michaud, i. 64; Milman, iii. 232. It seems probable that they represent several speeches made by him in the course of the proceedings at Clermont. The summary in the text is put together from William of Tyre and a Vatican MS. (both in Hardouin, vi. 1721, seqq.), and from William of Malmesbury, 527, seqq. The statement of Michaud (i. 61) and others, that Peter the Hermit excited the council by his eloquence, is

unwarranted by the old accounts. Sybel, 176.

^b "Diex lo volt!" Wilken, i. 53; Michaud, i. 64.

^c Order. Vital. iii. 469; Gibbon, v. 410.

^d Sybel, 227.

^e Orderic. Vital. iii. 469.

^f Wilken, i. 55-6; Michaud, i. 65.

^g Bernold, 450-1; Ekkehard, 213; Wilken, i. 76.

^h Wilken, i. 58.

exorbitantly dear.^h A spirit of religious enthusiasm animated all ranks, and with it was combined a variety of other motives. The life of war and adventure in which the nations of the west found their delight was now consecrated as holy and religious;ⁱ even the clergy might without scruple fight against the enemies of the faith.^k The fabulous splendours and wealth of the east were set before the imagination, already stimulated by the romantic legends of Charlemagne and his peers.^l There was full forgiveness of sins, commutation of all penances;^m God, according to the expression of a writer of the time, had *invented* a new method for the cleansing of sins.ⁿ Penitents, who had been shamed among their neighbours by being debarred from the use of arms, were now at liberty to resume them.^p For the peasant, there was an opportunity to quit his depressed life, to bear arms, to forsake the service of his feudal lord, and to range himself under the banner of any leader whom he might choose.^q For the robber, the pirate, the outlaw, there was amnesty of his crimes, and restoration to society;^r for the debtor there was escape from his obligations;^s for the monk there was emancipation from the narrow bounds and from the monotonous duties of his cloister; for those who were not likely to share in the exploits of war, there was the assurance that death on this holy expedition would make them partakers in the glory and bliss of martyrs.^t

The letter which Peter the Hermit professed to have received from heaven was not the only thing which claimed a supernatural character. Prophets were busy in preaching the crusade, and turned it to their own advantage.^u Many deceits were practised, and some of them were discovered. It was common among the more zealous crusaders to impress the cross on their flesh; but some impostors pretended to have received the mark by miracle. Among them was a monk, who found himself unable to raise money for his outfit by other means, but who thus succeeded in collecting large contributions. The fraud was detected in the Holy Land; but his

^h Orderic, iii. 411, 468; Guibert. Novig. ap. Michaud, i. 75; Gibbon, v. 418.

ⁱ Gibbon, v. 416-7.

^k Fleury, Disc. c. 2.

^l Carolingian romance is said to date from the eleventh century. Gibbon, v. 408; Ampère, iii. 429; R. J. King, in Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 292.

^m Order. Vital. iii. 468.

ⁿ Guibert. Novig., quoted by Milman,

n. on Gibbon, v. 413.

^p Chron. Casin. iv. 11.

^q Wilken, i. 61; Sybel, 283.

^r Orderic Vital. iii. 468; Guibert of Nogent mentions the cessation of robbery and arson as an effect of publishing the crusade. Michaud, i. 74.

^s Michaud, i. 68.

^t Gieseler, II. ii. 42.

^u Ekkehard, 214-5.

general conduct had been so respectable that he afterwards obtained promotion, and eventually became archbishop of Cæsarea.*

Long before the time appointed for the commencement of the expedition, the impatience of the multitude was unable to restrain itself. Peter was urged to set out, and in the beginning of March he crossed the Rhine at Cologne, at the head of a motley host, of which the other leaders were a knight, named Walter of Pacy,^y and his nephew Walter "the Pennyless."^z A separation then took place; the military chiefs went on, with the more vigorous of their followers, and promised to wait for Peter and the rest at Constantinople.^a A second swarm followed under a priest named Gottschalk, and a third under another priest named Folkmar, and Count Emicho, a man notorious for his violent and lawless character.^b Each successive crowd was worse than that which preceded it; among them were old and infirm men, children of both sexes, women of loose virtue—some of them in male attire;^c they were without order or discipline, most of them unprovided with armour or money, with no idea of the distance of Jerusalem, or of the difficulties to be encountered by the way.^d Emicho's host was composed of the very refuse of the people, animated by the vilest fanaticism. It is said that their march was directed by the movements of a goose and a goat, which were supposed to be inspired.^e Their passage through the towns of the Moselle and the Rhine, the Maine and the Danube, was marked by the plunder and savage butchery of the Jewish inhabitants. Bishops endeavoured to rescue the victims by admitting them to a temporary profession of Christianity; but some of the more zealous Jews shut themselves up in their houses, slew their children, and disappointed their persecutors by burning themselves with all their property.^f

* Gieseler, II. ii. 42.

^y *De Perceio*. The editors of the *Recueil des Historiens* (Index to vol. xii.) and Lappenberg (ii. 213) identify this place with Pacy on the Eure. Others suppose it to be Poissy, of which the more usual Latin name is *Pischium*.

^z *Sensaveir*, or *sine-lubere*—in German, *Hohenichts*.

^a Wilken, i. 80.

^b Ekkehard, 215.

^c Bernold, Ann. 1096.

^d Wilken, i. 76.

^e Wilken, i. 96; Michaud, i. 83-90. Dean Milman quotes, from Billings, on the Temple Church, but without confidently adopting it—an explanation

which connects these creatures with Gnosticism. Note on Gibbon, v. 418.

^f Ekkehard, Ann. 1096; *Annal. Saxo.* 729; *Gesta Treverorum*, c. 17, ap. Pertz, viii. Guibert of Nogent relates that, while some were making their preparations for the crusade at Rouen, they began to ask, "Why should we go so far to attack God's enemies, when we have before our eyes the Jews, than whom no nation is more bitter in enmity to Him?" They then drove the Jews into a church, and murdered all, of whatever sex or age, who refused to become Christians. *De Vita sua*, ii. 5, ap. Bouquet, xii. 240.

No provision had been made for the subsistence of these vast hordes in the countries through which they were to pass. Their dissoluteness, disorder and plundering habits raised the populations of Hungary and Bulgaria against them;^g and the later swarms suffered for the misdeeds of those who had gone before. Gottschalk and his followers were destroyed in Hungary.^h Others were turned back from the frontier of that country, or straggled home to tell the fate of their companions, who had perished in battles and sieges; while want and fatigue aided the sword of their enemies in its ravages.ⁱ The elder Walter died at Philippopoli;^j but his nephew and Peter the Hermit struggled onwards, and reached Constantinople with numbers which, although greatly diminished, were still formidable and imposing.^m

The emperor Alexius was alarmed by the unexpected form in which the succour which he had requested presented itself;ⁿ and the thefts and unruliness of the strangers disturbed the peace of his capital. It is said that he was impressed by the eloquence of Peter, and urged him to wait for the arrival of the other crusaders; but the hermit's followers were resolved to fight, and the emperor was glad to rid himself of them by conveying them across the Bosphorus. A great battle took place under the walls of Nicæa, the Turkish capital. Walter the Pennyless was slain, with most of his followers, whose bones were gathered into a vast heap and remained as a monument of their luckless enterprise. The scanty remains of the host were rescued by Alexius, sold him their arms, and endeavoured to find their way back to their homes.^o It is reckoned that in these ill-conducted expeditions half a million of human beings had already perished.^p

In the mean time the more regular forces of the crusaders were preparing. Every country of the west, with the exception of Spain, where the Christians were engaged in their own continual holy war with the infidels,^q sent its contributions to swell the array.^r Germany, at enmity with the papacy, had not been visited

^g Ekkehard, 215; Dodechin, Ann. 1096.

^h Wilken, i. 96.

ⁱ Bernold, 1096.

^k Order. Vital. iii. 479.

^m Walter arrived on Aug. 1. Sybel, 250.

ⁿ Gibbon, v. 431.

^o Orderic, iii. 491; Wilken, i. 88-94; Michaud, i. 94; Sybel, 254.

^p Wilken, i. 101. Heeren observes that the estimates of the crusaders,

being formed merely by conjecture, must be received with much distrust (82). Fulcher of Chartres reckons the fighting men in the first crusade at 600,000, and the whole multitude at ten times that number. Choiseul Daillecourt, 28; Gibbon, v. 436-7.

^q This was the age of the Cid, whose death is placed in 1099. Pagi, xviii. 109.

^r William of Malmesbury takes the opportunity to satirize his neighbours—

by the preachers of the Crusade, and, when the crowds of pilgrims began to stream through it, the inhabitants mocked at them as crazy, in leaving certainties for wild adventure; but by degrees, and as the more disciplined forces appeared among them, the Germans too caught the contagion of enthusiasm. Visions in the sky—combats of airy warriors, and a beleaguered city—added to the excitement. It was said that Charlemagne had risen from his grave to be the leader, and preachers appeared, who promised to conduct those who should follow them dryshod through the sea.^a

Of the chiefs, the most eminent by character was Godfrey of Bouillon, son of Count Eustace of Boulogne, who had accompanied William of Normandy in the invasion of England, and descended from the Carolingian family through his mother, a sister of Godfrey the Hunchbacked.^b In his earlier years, Godfrey had been distinguished as a partisan of the emperor. It is said that at the Elster, where he carried the banner of the empire, he gave Rudolph of Swabia his deathwound by driving the shaft into his breast, and that he was the first of Henry's army to mount the walls of Rome.^c His services had been rewarded by Henry with the marquisate of Antwerp after the death of Godfrey, and to this was added in 1089 the dukedom of Lower Lorraine, which was forfeited by the rebel Conrad.^d A fever which he had caught at Rome long disabled him for active exertion; but the announcement of the crusade revived him, and—partly, perhaps, in penitence for his former opposition to the pope—he vowed to join the enterprise,^e for which he raised the necessary funds by pledging his castle of Bouillon, in the Ardennes, to the bishop of Liege. Godfrey is described by the chroniclers as resembling a monk rather than a knight in the mildness of his ordinary demeanour, but as a lion in the battle-field—as wise in council, disinterested in purpose, and deeply religious.^f Among the other chiefs were his brothers Eustace and Baldwin; Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France; the counts Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Flanders, and Stephen of Blois; and Robert duke of Normandy, the brave,

^a *Tunc Wallensis venationem saltuum, tunc Scottus familiaritatem pulicum, tunc Danus continuationem potuum, tunc Noricus eruditatem reliquit piscium.* 533.

^b Ekkehard, 214-5.

^c *Genealog. Comitum Baloniensium*, ap. Pertz, ix. 300-1; Order. Vital. iii. 612.

^d W. Malmesb. 372; Gibbon, v. 423;

Wilken, i. 68. Von Sybel rejects the accounts of Godfrey's earlier history, and labours to show that his character has been unduly exalted and idealised. 262, 335, seqq.

^e Sigebert, Ann. 1089; Luden, ix.

65.

^f W. Malmesb. 574; Michaud, i. 96.

^g Radulph. Cadom. 14.

thoughtless, indolent son of William the Conqueror.^a Each leader was wholly independent of the others, and the want of a recognised head became the cause of many disasters.^b

In order that the passage of the army might not press too severely on any country, it was agreed that its several divisions should proceed to Constantinople by different routes.^c Godfrey, at the head of 10,000 horse and 80,000 foot, took the way through Hungary, where his prudence was successfully exerted in overcoming the exasperation raised by the irregular bands which had preceded him.^d The crusaders from Southern France in general went through Italy, and thence by sea either to the ports of Greece and Dalmatia, or direct to Constantinople. A large force of Normans, under Roger of Sicily, and Bohemund, the son of Robert Guiscard by his first marriage, were engaged in the siege of Amalfi, when Hugh of Vermandois, with his crusaders, arrived in the neighbourhood. The enthusiasm of the strangers infected the besiegers, and Bohemund, who had been disinherited in favour of his half-brother, and had been obliged to content himself with the principality of Tarentum, resolved to turn the enterprise to his own advantage. He raised the cry of "God wills it!" and distributed crosses among the eager soldiers, by whose defection Roger found himself compelled to abandon the siege. The new leader was distinguished by deep subtlety and selfishness; but with him was a warrior of very opposite character—his cousin or nephew Tancred, the model of Christian chivalry.^e

The gradual appearance of the crusading forces at Constantinople renewed the uneasiness of Alexius, and the accession of Bohemund, who had been known to him of old in Guiscard's wars against the empire, was especially alarming.^f That the emperor treated his allies with an artful, jealous, distrustful policy, is certain; but the statements of the Latin chroniclers^g are greatly at variance with those of his daughter Anna Comnena, and it would seem that there is no foundation for the darker charges of treachery which they advance against him.^h Godfrey was obliged to resort to force in order to establish an understanding with him;ⁱ and the

^a Urban, Ep. ad Alex. Comm. ap. Hard. 1645; Radulph. Cadom. 15.

^b Sybel, 283.

^c Wilken, i. 77.

^d Ekkelhard, 215; Wilken, i. 104.

^e Chron. Casin. iv. 11; Lupus Protopatha, Ann. 1096, ap. Pertz. v. 109. Orderic, iii. 487; Wilken, i. 123-4.

As to Tancred's parentage, see Giannone, l. ix. c. 7.

^f Wilken, i. 108; Michaud, i. 110.

^g See, e. g., W. of Malmesbury, 535; Ekkelhard, 216; Rad. Cadom. 9.

^h Schröckh, xxv. 64; Wilken, i.

ⁱ Wilken, i. 116.

emperor then took another method of proceeding. While obliged to entertain his unwelcome visitors during the remainder of the winter season, he plied the leaders with flattery and with gifts, and obtained from one after another of them an act of homage, with a promise to resign to him such parts of their ex-^{A.D. 1097.}pected conquests as had formerly belonged to the empire. He skilfully decoyed one party across the Bosphorus before the arrival of another; and by Whitsuntide, 1097, the whole host had passed into Asia.^k

The Turks of Roum were now before them, and, on approaching the capital of the kingdom, their zeal and rage were excited by the sight of the hill of bones which marked the place where Walter and his companions had fallen.^m Nicæa was besieged from the 14th of May to the 20th of June, but on its capture the Latins were disappointed of their expected plunder, by finding that the Turks, when it became untenable, had secretly agreed to surrender it to Alexius. The discovery filled them with disgust and indignation against their allies, and they eagerly looked for an opportunity of requiting them.ⁿ A fortnight later was fought the battle of Dorylæum, in which the fortune of the day is said to have been turned by heavenly champions, who descended^{July 4.} to aid the Christians.^o The victory was so decisive that the sultan of Roum was driven to seek support among the brethren of his race and religion in the east.^p

The army had already suffered severely, and, as it advanced through Asia Minor, it was continually thinned by the difficulties of the way, and by scarcity of food.^q Disunion appeared among the leaders, and some of them began to show a preference for their private interests over the great object of the expedition.^r Baldwin, disregarding the remonstrances of his companions, accepted an invitation to assist a Christian prince or tyrant of Edessa. The prince's subjects rose against him, and threw him over the wall of the city, and Baldwin established himself in his stead.^s But the great mass of the crusaders held on their march for Jerusalem.

At length they arrived in Syria, and on the 18th of October laid siege to Antioch. The miseries endured during this siege, which lasted eight months, were frightful. The tents of the cru-

^k Order. Vital. iii. 499; Gibbon, v. 432-5; Wilken, i. 119-121; Michaud, i. 111-7; Sybel, 319, seqq.

^m Wilken, i. 141.

ⁿ Ord. Vital. iii. 506-7; Wilken, i. 150.

^o Michaud, i. 143-7.

^p Gibbon, v. 440.

^q Gibbon, v. 438; Wilken, i. 157.

^r Michaud, i. 141.

^s W. Malmesb. 478; Wilken, i. 167.

^t 9; Sybel, 376.

saders were demolished by the winds, or were rotted by the heavy rains, which converted their encampment into a swamp; their provisions had been thoughtlessly wasted in the beginning of the siege, and they were soon brought to the extremity of distress; the flesh of horses, dogs, and mice, grass and thistles, leather and bark, were greedily devoured; and disease added its ravages to famine. The horses were reduced from 70,000 to 2000, and even these were unfit for service. Gallant knights lost their courage and deserted; among them was Stephen of Blois, who met Alexius advancing with reinforcements, and, by representing the case of his brethren as hopeless, gave the emperor a pretext for turning back. Peter the Hermit, who had joined the army in Asia, unable to bear the privations of the siege, and perhaps the reproaches of the multitude, ran away, but was brought back by orders of Bohemund, who made him swear to remain with the army. Yet in the midst of these sufferings, the camp of the crusaders was the scene of gross licentiousness, until the legate Adhemar compelled them to remove all women from it, to give up gaming, and to seek deliverance from their distress by penitential exercises. As the spring advanced, the condition of the army improved; supplies of provisions were obtained from Edessa, and from Genoese ships which had arrived in the harbour of St. Symeon; and most of the deserters returned. At length, by the treachery of a renegade named Firuz, the crusaders got possession of the city, although the fortress still remained in the hands of the enemy.^t

The capture of Antioch was marked by barbarous and shameful excesses.^u The crusaders, unwarned by their former distress, recklessly wasted their provisions, and when, soon after, an overwhelming force of Turks appeared, under Kerboga, prince of Mosul, they found themselves shut up between these new enemies and the garrison of the fortress. Their sufferings soon became more intense than ever. The most loathsome food was sold at exorbitant prices; even human flesh was eaten. Many deserted, and were in part cut off by the enemy. Warriors were reduced to creep feebly about the silent streets, supporting themselves on staves. The hearts of all sank, and a general indifference to life prevailed.^x In the extremity of their misery, Peter Bartholomes, a disreputable priest of Marseilles, announced a revelation which he professed to

^t Radulph. Cadom. 58-72; W. Mal-mesb. 556-8; Order. Vital. 524, seqq.; Gibbon, v. 11-6; Wilken, i. 176-201; Michaud, ii. 10-11; Sybel, 383-410.

^u Order. Vital. iii. 540; Rad. Cad. 67.

^x Rad. Cad. 73, seqq.; Order. Vital. iii. 546-551; Wilken, i. 240; Michaud, ii. 15-7.

have received from St. Andrew—that the lance which pierced the Redeemer's side was to be found in the church of St. Peter. After twelve men had dug a whole day, the head of a lance was found. The Christians passed at once from despair to enthusiasm. All that could be mustered of effective soldiers made a sally from the city, with the holy lance borne by the legate's chaplain. The Saracens, divided among themselves by fierce dissensions, fled before the unexpected attack, leaving behind them an immense mass of spoil; and again the victory of the Christians was ascribed to the aid of celestial warriors.^y The fortress was soon after surrendered into their hands; but the unburied corpses which poisoned the air produced fresh disease, and among its victims was the pious and martial legate Adhemar.^z A report of the capture of Antioch was sent off to Urban, with a request that he would come in person to take possession of St. Peter's eastern see.^a The Greek patriarch was compelled to give way to a Latin;^b and, after much discussion between the chiefs who asserted and those who denied that the conduct of Alexius had released them from their promise to him, Bohemund was established as prince of Antioch, but with the condition that he should accompany the army to Jerusalem.^c

Although the discovery of the holy lance had been the means of leading the crusaders to victory, the imposture was to cost its author dear. Bohemund and others, when offended by his patron Raymond of Toulouse, in the advance to Jerusalem, ridiculed the idea of St. Andrew's having chosen such a man for the medium of a revelation, and declared that the lance, which was clearly of Saracen manufacture, had been hidden by Peter himself. Peter was obliged to undergo the ordeal of passing between two burning piles. He was severely scorched; but the multitude, who supposed him to have come out unhurt, crowded round him, threw him down in their excitement, and, in tearing his clothes into relics, pulled off pieces of his flesh with them. In consequence of this treatment he died on the twelfth day.^d

The necessity of recruiting their strength after the sufferings which they had undergone detained the crusaders at Antioch until March of the following year.^e Three hundred thousand, it

^y Rad. Cad. 100; Orderic, iii. 548-559; Wilken, i. 213-224; Michaud, ii. 50-9.

^z Wilken, i. 229.

^a Michaud, ii. 196, gives a translation of the letter from Fulcher.

^b Schröckh, xxv. 76.

^c W. Malmesb. 560; Wilken, i. 265; Sybel, 455.

^d Rad. Cadom. 102, 108; Wilken, i. 260-3; Michaud, i. 76.

^e Wilken, i. 253.

is said, had reached Antioch, but famine and disease, desertion and the sword, had reduced their force to little more than 40,000, of whom only 20,000 foot and 1500 horse were fit for service;^f and on the march to Jerusalem their numbers were further thinned in sieges and encounters with the enemy. Aided by the terror of the crusade, the Fatimite Arabs had succeeded in recovering the holy city from the Turks; and before Antioch the Christian leaders had received an embassy from the caliph, announcing his conquest, and offering to rebuild their churches, and to protect their religion, if they would come to him as peaceful pilgrims. But they disdained to admit any distinction among the followers of the false prophet, and replied that they must win and hold the land which had belonged to their fathers.^g On the 6th of June they arrived in sight of the holy city. A cry of "Jerusalem! Jerusalem! It is the will of God!" burst forth. All threw themselves on their knees, and kissed the sacred ground. But for the necessity of guarding against attack, they would have continued their pilgrimage with bare feet; and they surveyed with eager credulity the traditional scenes of the Gospel story, which were pointed out by a hermit of Mount Olivet.^h The Christians who had been expelled from the city crowded to them with tales of cruelty and profanation, which raised their excitement still higher. Trusting in their enthusiasm, and expecting miraculous aid, they at once assaulted the walls; but they were unprovided with the necessary engines, and met with a disastrous repulse.ⁱ

During the siege of forty days which followed, the crusaders suffered severely from hunger, and yet more from the fierce thirst produced by the heats of midsummer, and the burning south wind of that parched country. The brooks were dried up; the cisterns had been destroyed or poisoned; impure water was brought from a distance by peasants, and was sold at extravagant prices. The horses and mules were led six miles to water, exposed to the assaults of the Arabs, and many of them died.^k The want of wood was a serious difficulty. The buildings of the neighbourhood were pulled down, and their timber was employed in constructing engines of war; but the supply was insufficient, until Tancred (according to his biographer) accidentally found in a cave some long beams which had been used as scaling-ladders by the Arabs in the late siege;

^f Gibbon, v. 452; Michaud, ii. 81.

Michaud, ii. 87.

^g Ekkehard, 217; Wilken, i. 187.

ⁱ Michaud, ii. 92-4.

278.

^k Order. Vital. iii. 602; Wilken, i.

^h Rad. Cad. 111-3; Wilken, i. 271; 282; Michaud, ii. 90-5.

and two hundred men under his command brought trees from a forest in the hills near Nablous.^m All now laboured at the construction of machines, and their work was aided by a supply of tools from a Genoese fleet which opportunely arrived at Joppa." On the 14th of July a second assault was made, but, after fighting for twelve hours, the besiegers retired. Next day the attack was renewed, and was repulsed. The Christians were on the point of yielding to despair, when Godfrey saw on the Mount of Olives a heavenly warrior waving his bright shield as a signal for another effort. Adhemar and others of their dead companions are also said to have appeared in front of the assailants, and, after a fierce struggle, they became masters of the holy city. It was July 15. noted that the capture took place at the hour of three on the afternoon of a Friday—the day and the hour of the Saviour's passion.^o

The scenes of rapine, lust, and butchery which ensued disgraced the Christian name. The crusaders, inflamed to madness by the thought of the wrongs inflicted on their brethren, and by the obstinate resistance of the besieged, spared neither old man, woman, nor infant. Seventy thousand Mahometans were massacred; many who had received a promise of life from the leaders were slaughtered by the soldiery. The temple and Solomon's porch were filled with blood to the height of a horse's knee; and, in the general rage against the enemies of Christ, the Jews were burnt in their synagogue.^p Godfrey took no part in these atrocities, but, immediately after the victory, repaired, in the dress of a pilgrim, to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to pour out his thanks for having been permitted to reach the holy city. Many followed his example, relinquishing their savage work for tears of penitence and joy, and offering at the altars the spoil which they had seized; but, by a revulsion of feeling natural to a state of high excitement, they soon returned to their butchery, and for three days Jerusalem ran with blood.^q

Eight days after the taking of the city, Godfrey was chosen king of Jerusalem; but he refused to wear a crown of gold where the King of Kings had been crowned with thorns, and contented

^m Rad. Cad. 120-1; Michaud, ii. 97, who, in his appendix, identifies this with the ancient forest of Sharon.

ⁿ Raumer, i. 207.

^o Gibbon, v. 454; Wilken, i. 289; Michaud, ii. 107-8.

^p Ekkehard, 217; Rad. Cad. 132-4; W. Malmesb. 568; Order. Vital. iii. 610-1; Lupus Protospatha (Ann. 1099, ap. Pertz, v.) exaggerates the number of victims to 200,000.

^q Wilken, i. 297-8.

himself with the style of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre."

Godfrey had hardly been chosen when he was again summoned to arms by the appearance of a superior force of Saracens from Egypt, which had arrived too late to succour the garrison of

Jerusalem. The crusaders were victorious in the battle Aug. 14. of Askelon; and, having thus secured the footing of their brethren in the Holy Land,^s most of them returned to Europe, after having bathed in the Jordan, carrying with them palm-branches from Jericho, and relics of holy personages, who, for the most part, had before been unheard of in the west.^t Among those who returned was Peter the Hermit, who spent the remainder of his days in a monastery of his own foundation at Huy, near Liege, until his death in 1115.^u

The new kingdom was at first confined to the cities of Jerusalem and Joppa, with a small surrounding territory, but was gradually extended to the ancient boundaries of Palestine.^x The French language was established; and Godfrey, with the assistance of the most skilful advisers whom he could find, laid the foundation of a code of laws, derived from those of the west, and afterwards famous under the name of the "Assizes of Jerusalem."^y After Aug. 17, 1100. having held his dignity for little more than a year, Godfrey died, and, by his recommendation, his brother, Baldwin of Edessa, was chosen to succeed him.^z Crusaders and pilgrims continued to flock towards the Holy Land, excited less by the triumphs of their brethren than by sympathy for their sufferings; and in these expeditions many perished through the difficulties and dangers of the way.^a

The patriarch of Jerusalem, who had been sent out of the city by the Arabs before the siege, had since died in Cyprus. As at

^r W. Malmesb. 576; Gibbon, v. 456; Wilken, i. 305.

^s Ekkehard, 217; Gibbon, v. 456.

^t Wilken, ii. 19; Mosheim, ii. 314. Eadmer relates that Bohemund, when in Normandy, in 1106, divided between St. Anselm and certain churches twelve hairs, which the patriarch of Antioch had given him, with the assurance that the Blessed Virgin plucked them from her head as she stood mourning by the cross (Hist. Novorum, p. 75). Another crusader was so fortunate as, at the taking of Jerusalem, to find, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, some hairs with a similar history. They had

been preserved by St. John and other "philo-Christi"—"quia hoc multorum saluti profuturum noverunt." Order. Vital. iii. 608-9.

^u Pagi, xviii. 270; Michaud, ii. 135.

^x Gibbon, v. 457.

^y On these see Gibbon, v. 460; Wilken, i. 305, seqq., and supplement. In their present shape, the Assizes are a hundred and fifty years later, and Von Sybel thinks that the account of their origin is fabulous. 517.

^z Rad. Cad. 142-3; Wilken, ii. 59.

^a Wilken, ii. c. 12; Michaud, i. 137; x. 5.

Antioch, a Latin patriarch was established; and the Greek Christians, who found themselves persecuted as schismatics, were reduced to regret the days when they had lived under the government of the infidels.^b Nor were the Latins free from serious dissensions among themselves. Arnulph, an able but turbulent Norman ecclesiastic, who contrived to get himself hastily elected to the patriarchate on the taking of Jerusalem, endeavoured to prevent the appointment of any secular head for the community.^c He was set aside in favour of Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, who arrived from Rome with a commission as legate in succession to Adhemar;^d but Daimbert was no less bent on establishing the supremacy of the hierarchy. Not content with persuading Godfrey to take investiture at his hands, he advanced claims of territory for the church which would have left the new royalty almost destitute; and Godfrey was glad, in the difficulties of his situation, to make a provisional compromise with the patriarch's demands.^e The troubles thus begun continued to divide the kings and the patriarchs of Jerusalem; and the patriarchate itself was the subject of intrigues, which led more than once to the deposition of its possessors.^f The patriarch, too, had to contend with his brother of Antioch for precedence;^g and his authority was boldly defied by the great military orders which soon after arose.^h

The diminished kingdom of Roum, of which Iconium became the capital, was now isolated between the Latins of Syria and the Byzantine empire.ⁱ But, although the crusaders had saved the empire of Alexius, his relations with them were of no friendly kind. They taxed him with perfidy, and with deserting them in their troubles. They held themselves released by his conduct from the feudal obligations which they had contracted to him; Boheimund even for a time alarmed the empire by a renewal of his father's projects against it.^k Instead of effecting, as had been expected, a reconciliation between the Eastern and the Western churches, the crusade had the effect of embittering their hostility beyond the hope of cure.^l

The Crusades have been truly styled the Trojan war of modern history.^m They have often been condemned as undertaken for a chimerical object; as an unjust aggression on the possessors of the

^b Gibbon, v. 457.

^c Wilken, i. 301-6.

^d Bernold, 466.

^e Wilken, 53-5.

^f See Schröckh, xxv. 86-90.

^g Paschal II. Epp. 20, 28-9.

^h See below, c. vii.

ⁱ Gibbon, v. 467.

^k Bernold, 466; Gibbon, v. 465.

^l Fleury, Discours, c. 9.

^m See Heeren, 42.

Holy Land ; as having occasioned a lavish waste of life and treasure ; as having inflicted great hardships on society by the transference of property, the impoverishment of families, and the heavy exactions for which they became the pretext ; as having produced grievous misrule and disorder by drawing away prelates, nobles, and at length even sovereigns, from their duties of government at home to engage in the war with the infidels.^o Much of this censure seems to be unfounded. The charge of injustice is a refinement difficult to understand, and one which would not have occurred to any party in an age when the feeling of local religion (however little countenanced by the New Testament) was as strong in the Christian as in the Jew or the Moslem. But in truth the crusades were rather defensive than aggressive. They were occasioned by the advance of the new tribes which with the religion of Mahomet had taken up that spirit of conquest which had cooled and died away among the older Mahometan nations. They transferred to the east that war in defence of the faith which for ages had been carried on in Spain.^p And while this was enough to justify the undertaking of the crusades, they led to results which were altogether unforeseen, but which far more than outweigh the temporary evils which they caused.^q

The idea of a war for the recovery of the land endeared to Christians by the holiest associations, was of itself a gain for the martial nations of the west—raising, as it did, their thoughts from the petty quarrels in which they had too generally wasted themselves, to unite their efforts in a hallowed and ennobling cause. It was by the crusades that the nations of Europe were first made known to each other as bound together by one common interest. Feudal relations were cast aside ; every knight was at liberty to follow the banner of the leader whom he might prefer ; instead of being confined to one small and narrow circle, the crusaders were brought into intercourse with men of various nations ; and the consequence tended to mutual refinement. The chivalrous spirit, of which France had hitherto been the home, now spread among the warriors of other countries, and the object of the crusades infused into chivalry a new religious character.^r Nor was chivalry without its effect, although not for good, on religion. In the cause of the cross, the canons against clerical warriors were suspended ;

^o See Mosheim, ii. 312 ; Gibbon, v. 411.

^q Daillecourt, 220.

^r Gibbon, v. 428 ; Heeren, ii. 127

^p Guizot, i. 151 ; Mackintosh, i. 123-180-4 ; Milman, iii. 254.

⁶ ; Milman, ii. 247-8.

and the devotion which knights owed to their ladies tended to exalt the devotion of the middle ages to her who was regarded as the highest type of glorified womanhood.⁸ And, while the intercourse of nations was important, the communication into which persons of different classes were brought by the crusades was no less so; the high and the low learned to understand and to value each other better.¹

The Christians of the west were also brought into contact with the civilisation of the Arabs, new to them in its character, and on the whole higher than their own. After the first blind fury of their enmity had passed away, they learnt to respect in their adversaries the likeness of those virtues which were regarded as adorning the character of the Christian knight; and they were ready to adopt from them whatever of knowledge or of refinement the Orientals might be able to impart.² Literature and science benefited by the intercourse which was thus established.³ Navigation was improved; ships of increased size were built for the transport of the armaments destined for the holy wars. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles were enriched by the commerce of the east; the gems, the silks, the spices, and the medicines of Asia became familiarly known in Europe; new branches of industry were introduced; and the inland trading cities gained a new importance and prosperity by aiding to distribute the commodities and luxuries which they received through the agency of the great seaports.⁴

The crusades tended to increase the power of sovereigns by lessening the number of fiefs. Many of the holders of these were obliged to sell them, in order to find means for their equipment; the feudal power was thus lodged in a less number of hands than before, and kings were able to make themselves masters of much that had until then been independent of their power.⁵ At the same time the class of citizens was rising in importance and dignity. As the wealth of towns was increased by commerce, they purchased or otherwise acquired privileges, and became emancipated from their lay or ecclesiastical lords. It was the interest of kings to favour them, as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles; and thus, more especially in France, the strength of the crown and the liberty of the trading class advanced in alliance with each other.⁶

⁸ Heeren, ii. 184; Milman, ii. 255.

¹ Guizot, i. 149.

² Heeren, ii. 72; Milman, ii. 255.

³ See Heeren, pt. iii., and Choiseul Daillecourt, pt. iv.

⁴ See Heeren, pt. ii.; Daillecourt, pt. ii.; Robertson's Charles V. i. 23-6, ed. Oxford, 1825; Wilken, ii. 191-3.

⁵ Guizot, i. 158.

⁶ Heeren, ii. 203-217, 241; Daillecourt, pt. iv.

And, although slowly and gradually, the crusades contributed towards the elevation of the peasantry, and the abolition of slavery in western Europe.^b

The transfer of property occasioned by the crusades was very advantageous to the clergy. Sees or monasteries could not permanently suffer by the zeal of crusading bishops or abbots, inasmuch as the incumbents could only dispose of a life-interest in their property. And, as they were thus secured against loss, the hierarchy had the opportunity of gaining immense profit by purchasing the lay estates which were thrown into the market at a depreciated value, while in such purchases they were almost without rivalry, as the Jews, the only other wealthy class, were not buyers or cultivators of land.^c

But the popes were the chief gainers by the crusades. They thus acquired a control over western Christendom which they might otherwise have sought in vain. They had the direction of movements which engaged all Europe; and their power was still further increased, when, in the second crusade, sovereign princes had shown the example of taking the cross. The spirit of the time then emboldened the popes to propose that emperors and kings should embark in a crusade; to refuse would have been disgraceful; and when the promise had been made, the pope was entitled to require the fulfilment of it whenever he might think fit. Nor would any plea of inconvenience serve as an excuse; for what was the personal interest of a prince to the general concern of Christendom?^d In the east, the popes extended their sway by the establishment of the Latin church, while they claimed the suzerainty of the territories wrested from the infidels. And while in the west the interest of the crusade afforded them a continual pretext for sending legates to interfere in every country,^e they also gained by means of it a large addition to their wealth. The contributions which had at first been a free offering towards the holy cause became a permanent tribute, which was exacted especially from the monks and clergy; and when this took the form of a certain proportion of the revenues, the popes were thus authorised to investigate and to intermeddle with the amount and the disposal of the whole.^f

Urban felt the addition of strength which he had gained by

court, 50-61; Michaud, x. 95-102; Stephen, sect. v.

^b Heeren, ii. 217-40; Daillecourt, 43-53.

^c Schmidt, ii. 498; Heeren, ii. 152.

^d Fleury, Disc. c. 8; Heeren, ii. 140-2.

^e Heeren, 147.

^f Heeren, 147, 150; Milman, iii. 245.

the crusade. He compelled Conrad to renounce the power of investiture, which the prince had ventured to exercise at Milan; and in a council held at Bari, in 1098, with a view to a reconciliation with the Greeks, he would have excommunicated the king of England for his behaviour to the primate Anselm, had not Anselm himself entreated him to refrain.^g But to his surest allies, the Normans of the south, the pope was careful to give no offence. Roger, Great Count of Sicily, had now firmly established himself in that island, and, while he allowed toleration to the Mahometan inhabitants, had restored the profession of Christianity, erected bishopricks, and built many churches and monasteries.^h In 1098 the Great Count was offended by finding that the pope, without consulting him, had appointed the bishop of Trani legate for Sicily; and in consequence of his remonstrances at a council at Salerno, a remarkable arrangement was made, which, from the circumstance that it lodged the ecclesiastical power in the same hands with the civil, is known as the *Sicilian Monarchy*. By this the pope invests Roger and his successors with the character of perpetual legates of the apostolic see; all papal mandates are to be executed through their agency, and they are to have the right of selecting such bishops and abbots as they may think fit to attend the papal councils.ⁱ

In explanation of a grant so unlike the usual policy of Rome, it has been conjectured that the pope, being aware that the Normans would be guilty of many irregularities in the administration of the church, yet being resolved not to quarrel with such valuable allies, devolved his authority on the prince with a view to rid himself of personal responsibility for the toleration of these irregularities.^k

^g Eadmer, 53. See the next chapter.

^h Malaterra, iv. 7.

ⁱ Malaterra, iv. 29; or Urban, Ep. xiii. ap. Hard. vi. 1644. The genuineness of this document is combated by Baronius, who gives a long history of the Sicilian monarchy (1098. 18-143). One of his arguments is, as Gieseler remarks (II. ii. 46), especially amusing for its naïveté. "How," asks the cardinal, "is it to be supposed that Urban would have granted to Roger such powers, when, by granting but a small part of them to Henry, he might have prevented so much misery?" (37.) He holds that the grant is forged or interpolated, and in its present form comes from the antipope Anacletus II. (58); and from the words of the document—"omni vitæ tuæ tempore, vel filii tui

Simonis, aut alterius qui legitimus tuus heres extiterit"—he argues that, even if genuine, it bestowed the privilege on Roger and his sons only—not on their posterity, and still less on any others who might get possession of Sicily (32-3). The volume which contained the passage was forbidden in the Spanish dominions, of which Sicily was then a part; and in one edition, printed in the Spanish Netherlands (Antwerp, 1647), the dissertation was omitted. The power continued to be exercised by the Spaniards, and, although Clement XI., in 1715, abolished it, the sovereign of Sicily was still governor of the church. Giannone, l. x. c. 8; Mosheim, ii. 306; Schröckh, xxvi. 28-30.

^k Planck, iv. 243.

In 1099, the antipope and his adherents were finally driven out from Rome, where they had until then kept possession of some churches; and Urban became master of the whole city.^m But on the 29th of July in that year he died—a fortnight after the taking of Jerusalem, but before he could receive the tidings of the triumph which had crowned his undertaking.ⁿ His successor was Rainier, a Tuscan by birth, who had been a monk at Cluny, and, having been sent to Rome at the age of twenty, on the business of his monastery, had obtained the patronage of Gregory, by whom he was employed in important affairs and promoted to the dignity of cardinal.^o

In the following year, Guibert or Clement, the rival of four successive popes, died at Castelli. That he was a man of Sept. 1100. great abilities and acquirements, and was possessed of many noble qualities, is admitted by such of his opponents as are not wholly blinded by their party feelings;^p and his power of securing a warm attachment to his person is proved by the fact that in the decline of his fortunes, and even to the last, he was not deserted.^q His grave at Ravenna was said to be distinguished by miracles, until Paschal ordered his remains to be dug up and cast into unconsecrated ground.^r Three antipopes were set up in succession by Guibert's party; but they failed to gain any considerable strength, and Paschal held undisturbed possession of his see.^s

Philip of France, after having been excommunicated by Urban at Clermont, had waited on the pope while in France, A.D. 1096. and by forswearing further intercourse with Bertrada, had succeeded in obtaining absolution.^t But in 1100 the adulterous pair incurred a fresh excommunication at Poitiers.^u Four years later, on the king's humble request, Paschal authorised his legate Lambert, bishop of Arras, to absolve them on condition that they should never thenceforth see each other except in the presence of unsuspected witnesses.^x At a synod at Paris in 1105, the king appeared as a barefooted penitent, and both he and Bertrada were absolved on swearing to the prescribed conditions;^y yet it appears that they afterwards lived together without any

^m Bernold, 466.

ⁿ Schröckh, xxvi. 33.

^o Pandulph. Pisan. ap. Murat. iii. 354.

^p E. g. Ekkehard, 219; Pandulph.

375.

^q Milman, i. 261.

^r Codex Udalrici, 173; Schröckh, xxvi. 37.

^s Pandulph. 355.

^t Bernold, 464.

^u See Orderic, iii. 389.

^x Ep. 35.

^y Hard. vi. 1875.

further remonstrance on the part of the pope.^a Philip on his deathbed, in 1108, expressed a feeling that he was unworthy to share the royal sepulchre at St. Denys, and desired that he might be buried at Fleury, in the hope that St. Benedict, the patron of the monastery, would intercede for the pardon of his sins.^a

The marriage of Matilda with the younger Welf had been a matter of policy, not of affection. The countess, finding her political strength increase, treated her young husband with coldness;^b and Welf was disgusted by discovering that the rich inheritance which had been a chief inducement to the connexion, had already been made over in remainder to the Church. A separation took place. Welf, as the only possible means of annulling the donation, invoked the emperor's aid, and his father, the duke of Bavaria, hitherto Henry's most formidable opponent in Germany, now joined the emperor with all his influence.^c On returning to his native country, after a sojourn of nearly seven years in Italy, Henry met with a general welcome. He devoted himself to the government of Germany, and for some years the stormy agitation of his life was exchanged for tranquil prosperity. His conciliatory policy won over many of his old opponents, whose antipathies died away as intercourse with him revealed his true character;^d and, at a great diet at Cologne, in 1098, he obtained a recognition of his second son, Henry, as his successor, in the room of the rebel Conrad, while, with a jealousy suggested by sad experience, he exacted from the prince an oath that he would not during his father's lifetime attempt to gain political power.^e The emperor's ecclesiastical prerogative was acknowledged. Although the pope's excommunication of him was unrepealed, even bishops of the papal party communicated with him and were fain to take investiture at his hands.^f The Jews, who had suffered from the fury of the crusading multitudes, were taken under his special protection, and for that time were regarded as dependent on the crown.^g

^a Some have supposed that Paschal at last sanctioned their union. See Schröckh, xxvi. 72; Gieseler, II. ii. 47; Sismondi, v. 15.

^b Order. Vital. iv. 284; Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, c. 12, ap. Bonquet, xii. 24.

^c Cosmas of Prague gives a strange account of their wedded life. ii. 32, ap. Pertz, ix.

^d Bernold, 461-3; Milman, iii. 218.

^e Luden, ix. 289.

^f Vita Henrici, c. 7, ap. Pertz, xii. I shall quote this as the work of Otbert, bishop of Liege, to whom Wattenbach, the editor in Pertz (269), agrees with Goldast that it is probably to be assigned.

^g Bernold, Ann. 1100; Luden, ix. 293.

^h Ekkehard, Ann. 1098; Milman, iii. 264.

The death of the antipope Clement, and the substitution of Paschal for Urban, appeared to open a prospect of reconciliation with Rome; and circumstances were rendered still more favourable by the removal of Conrad, who died in 1101, neglected by those who had made him their tool, but who no longer needed him.^a Henry announced an intention of crossing the Alps, and submitting his differences with Rome to the judgment of a council. But—whether from an unwillingness to revisit a country which had been so disastrous to him, from a fear to leave Germany exposed, through the dissuasions of his bishops, or from an apprehension that the pope, elated by the crusades, would ask exorbitant terms of reconciliationⁱ—he failed to make his appearance; and Paschal, at a synod in March 1102, renewed his excommunication, adding an anathema against all heresies, and “especially that which disturbs the present state of the church” by despising ecclesiastical censures.^b Yet the emperor’s clergy still adhered to him; among them, the pious Otho of Bamberg, afterwards famous as the Apostle of Pomerania, who acted as his secretary and assisted him in his devotions.^m

Henry spent the Christmas of 1102 at Mentz, where he declared a resolution of abdicating in favour of his son, and setting out for the Holy War, as soon as he should be reconciled with the pope. At the same time he proclaimed peace to the empire for four years,—that no one should during that time injure his neighbour, whether in person or in property; and he compelled the princes to swear to it.ⁿ The decree was obeyed; Germany by degrees recovered from the wounds inflicted by its long distractions; the peaceable classes—the merchant and trader, the husbandman and the artisan—carried on their occupations unmolested. The highways were safe for travellers, and the traffic of the rivers was unchecked by the little tyrants whose castles frowned along the banks.^o But the discords of Germany were only laid to sleep for a time. Intrigue was busy among the clergy, with whom the principles of Gregory had made way in proportion as their utility for the interests of the class became more apparent. Many bishops were won over from Henry’s party, and were ready to countenance a new movement against him.^p And a renewal of civil war was sure

^a Stenzel, i. 568; Luden, ix. 288.

ⁱ See Schmidt, ii. 267; Stenzel, i. 571; Milman, iii. 267.

^k Hard. vi. 1863; Ekkehard, 223-4.

^m Herbold, Vita Ottonis, 3-4, ap.

Pertz, xii.

ⁿ Pertz, Leges, ii. 60; Sigebert, Ann. 1103; Ekkehard, Ann. 1103; Stenzel, i. 576.

^o Othbert, 8.

^p Schmidt, ii. 354.

to be welcome to the nobles and their armed retainers, who fretted against the forced inaction which was so opposite to the habits of their former lives, while many of them, being no longer at liberty to resort to violence and plunder, found themselves reduced from splendour to poverty.^q

The younger Henry was now tampered with. The young nobles, with whom the emperor had studiously encouraged him to associate, insinuated to him that he was improperly kept under—that if he waited until his father's death, the empire would probably then be seized by another; and that the oath exacted of him by his father was not binding.^r These suggestions were too successful. In December, 1104, as the emperor was on an expedition against a refractory Saxon count, his son deserted him at Fritzlar, and to all his overtures and entreaties the prince made no other answer than that he could hold no intercourse with an excommunicate person, and that his oath to such a person was null and void.^s There is no evidence to show that the pope had been concerned in suggesting the defection; but the prince immediately asked his counsel, and was absolved from his share in the emperor's excommunication by the legate, Gebhard, bishop of Constance.^t He found himself at the head of a powerful party, in which one of the most conspicuous members was Ruthard, archbishop of Mentz, who had been charged with misdemeanours as to the Jews, and had found it expedient to abscond when the emperor proposed an inquiry into his conduct. For a year Germany was disquieted by the muster, the movements, and the contests of hostile armies.^u The prince, however, professed that he had no wish to reign—that his only motive in rebelling was to bring about his father's conversion; and, with consistent hypocrisy, he refused to assume the ensigns of royalty.^x

In the beginning of December, 1105, an interview between the father and the son took place at Coblenz. The emperor's fondness burst forth without restraint; he threw himself at the feet of his son, and confessed himself guilty of many offences against God, but adjured the prince not to stain his name by taking it on himself to punish his father's misdeeds.^y The behaviour of the young Henry was marked throughout by the deepest perfidy. He professed to return his father's love, and proposed that they should

^q Otbert, 8.^r Otbert, 9. The prince was born in 1081. Floto, i. 319.^s Otbert, 9; Ekkehard, 227.^t Stenzel, i. 586; Milman, iii. 271.^u Ekkehard, Ann. 1098.^x Milman, iii. 271.^y Henr. Ep. ad Philipp. ap. Sigebert, 370.

dismiss their followers with the exception of a few knights on each side, and should spend the Christmas season together at Mentz. The emperor consented, and, in his interviews with his son, as they proceeded up the bank of the Rhine, he poured forth all the warmth of his affection for him, while the prince professed to return his feelings, and repeatedly gave him the most solemn assurances of safety. But at Bingen Henry found himself made prisoner, and was committed to the custody of his enemy Gebhard, bishop of Spire. He was rudely treated and ill fed; his beard was unshorn; he was denied the use of a bath; at Christmas the Holy Eucharist was refused to him; and he was assailed with threats of personal violence, of death or lifelong captivity, until he was persuaded to surrender the ensigns of his power—the cross and the lance, the crown, the sceptre, and the globe—into the hands of his son's partisans.^a He entreated that an opportunity of defending his conduct might be granted. A great diet was about to meet at Mentz, but he was not allowed to appear before it—under the pretext that his excommunication made him unfit, but in reality because it was feared that his appearance might move the members to compassion, while the citizens of Mentz, like the inhabitants of most other German cities, were known to be still firmly attached to him.^a

At Ingelheim he was brought before an assembly composed exclusively of his enemies. Worn out by threats and ill usage, he professed himself desirous to resign his power, and to withdraw into the quiet which his age rendered suitable for him. The papal legate and the fallen emperor's own son alone remained unmoved by his humiliation. In answer to his passionate entreaties for absolution, the legate told him that he must acknowledge himself guilty of having unjustly persecuted Gregory. The emperor earnestly desired that a day might be allowed him to justify his conduct before the princes of the empire, but was told that he must at once submit, on pain of imprisonment for life. He asked whether by unreserved submission he might hope to obtain absolution; but the legate replied that absolution could only be granted by the pope himself. Henry's spirit was entirely broken, and he promised to satisfy the church in all points;^b it is even said that he solicited, for the sake of a maintenance, to be admitted as a canon of Spire, a cathedral founded by himself.^c

^a Henr. Ep. ad Philipp. ap. Sigeb. Hard. vi. 1880; Otbert, 10. 370; Otbert, 10; Ekkehard, 231.

^c Von Raumer (i. 250) adopts this story from Herman Corner, but it is

^a Ekkehard, 231; Luden, ix. 325.

^b Ep. ad Philipp. ap. Sigeb. 371; more generally rejected.

The younger Henry was crowned at Mentz by archbishop Ruthard, who, at the ceremony, warned him that if he should fail in his duties as a sovereign, his father's fate would overtake him.^d The violence of his ecclesiastical abettors was shown by disinterring the bones of deceased imperialist bishops.^e Jan. 6.

But serious outbreaks took place in favour of the dethroned emperor in Alsatia and elsewhere;^f and after a time, alarmed by rumours that his death or perpetual captivity was intended, he contrived to make his escape to Liege. The clergy of that city had steadily adhered to him, and when Paschal desired count Robert of Flanders to punish them for their fidelity, one of their number, the annalist Sigebert of Gemblours, sent forth a powerful letter in defence of their conduct, and in reproof of the papal assumptions.^g Henry was received with honour by the bishop, Othert, to whose affectionate pen we are chiefly indebted for the knowledge of his latest fortunes.^h He addressed letters to the kings of France, England, and Denmark, in which he denounced the new claims of Rome as an aggression on the common rights of all princes, and pathetically related the story of his sufferings from the enmity of the papal party and from the treachery of his own son whom they had misled.ⁱ He again offered to abide an examination of his conduct by the princes of Germany,^k and he requested his godfather, the venerable abbot of Cluny, to mediate with the pope.^m Other cities joined with Liege in rising in his favour; he was urged to retract his forced resignation, and he once more found himself strong enough to contest the kingdom.ⁿ The younger Henry was repulsed from Cologne, and the hostile armies were advancing towards each other, when the emperor's faithful chamberlain appeared in the king's camp, and delivered to him his father's ring and sword. Henry IV. had died at Liege, on the 7th of August, 1106, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign—desiring on his deathbed that these relics might be carried to his successor, with a request that his partisans might be forgiven for their adherence to him.^o

^d Rannmer, i. 250.

^e Ekkehard, 233.

^f Othert, 11; Luden, ix. 331.

^g *Epistola Leodiensium*, ap. Hard, vi. 1769, who dates it about 1107. But the date is more probably 1102, or 1103, according to Bethman, in Pertz, vi. 272. Jaffé dates Paschal's letter to Robert, Jan. 21, 1103.

^h The opposite party give a very un-

favourable account of Othert—as might in any case be expected. See Hist. Litt. x. 158-161.

ⁱ *Ep. ad Philipp. Franciæ Regem*, ap. Sigebert, 369-371.

^k Ekkehard, 234.

^m Stenzel, i. 597.

ⁿ Othert, 222-3.

^o *Annal. Blandin.* ap. Pertz, v. 27; Stenzel, i. 605.

In surveying the long and troubled reign of this prince, it seems impossible to acquit the hierarchy of grievous wrongs towards him. His early impressions of the clergy were not likely to be favourable—derived as they must have been from the remembrance of his abduction by Hanno, and from the sight of that prelate's sternness, ambition, pride, and nepotism, of Adalbert's vanity and worldliness, and of the gross simony, misrule, rapacity, and corruption which disgraced the German church. Under his self-appointed ecclesiastical guardians, his education was neglected, and he was encouraged in license and riot. The warnings of Gregory, however sound in their substance, were not conveyed in a manner which could be expected to influence him for good, since they were accompanied by new claims against the royal and imperial power. Gregory took advantage of his weakness; he surrounded him with a net of intrigues; he used against him the disaffection of his subjects, which had been in great part provoked by the encroachments of some ecclesiastics and was swollen by the industry of others; he humbled him to the dust, and trampled on him. The claims of the papacy, whether just or unjust, were novel; it was the pope that invaded the emperor's traditional power, while Henry asserted only the prerogatives which his predecessors had exercised without question. "It was his fate," says William of Malmesbury, "that whosoever took up arms against him regarded himself as a champion of religion."^p By the hierarchy his troubles were fomented, and atrocious calumnies were devised against him; it was under pretence of religion that his sons rebelled, and that that son on whom he had lavished his tenderness, to whom he was even willing to transfer his power, forced from him a premature resignation by the most hateful treachery and violence. Yet Henry, among all the faults which are imputed to him, is not taxed even by his enemies with any profanity or irreligion; his contests were not even with the papacy, but with its occupants, and with the new pretensions by which they assailed his crown.

The conduct of Henry as a ruler must be viewed with allowance for the unfortunate training and circumstances of his youth. The faults of other men were visited on him; the demands of his subjects were frequently unreasonable, and urged in an offensive style. His breach of engagements was often and too justly charged against him; yet it may be palliated by the consideration that the opposition to him was animated by a power which claimed

^p *Gesta Regum*, p. 467.

authority to release from all oaths and obligations. Adversity drew forth the display of talents and of virtues which had not before been suspected. The troubles of his last days were excited, not by misgovernment, but by his having governed too well.

To the poor and to the oppressed classes Henry was endeared by his warm sympathy for them, by his support of them against the tyranny of the nobles, by the charity not only of bountiful almsgiving, but of personal kindness in administering to their relief.¹ The poor, the widows, the orphans crowded around his bier, pouring forth their tears and prayers, kissing the hands which had distributed his gifts,² and commemorating his kind and gentle deeds.³ The loyal Othbert buried his master with the rites of the church, but was soon after compelled by way of penance to disinter the body, which was then carried to Spires, where Henry himself had desired to be buried in the cathedral raised by his bounty. But this was not to be permitted; the church in which the coffin had been deposited was interdicted by the bishop; and for five years the remains of the excommunicated emperor were kept in an unconsecrated vault, where, like the relics of a saint, they were visited by multitudes who affectionately cherished his memory.⁴

¹ Othbert, 1; Dodechin, 667.

² "Largus manus," Othbert, 13, p. 283.

³ Some placed seed-corn on the bier,

in the hope that it would thus become able to impart productiveness to other seed. Sigeib. ap. Pertz, vi. 371-2.

⁴ Luden, ix. 347.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE DEATH OF
ST. ANSELM:

A.D. 1066-1108.

THE successful expedition of William of Normandy produced important changes in the English church. At his coronation, which was performed by Aldred, archbishop of York, William swore to administer equal justice to all his subjects;^a but the necessity of providing for his followers soon led him to disregard this pledge, while a pretext was afforded by the obstinate resistance which he met with in completing the subjugation of the country, and by the frequent insurrections of the Saxons. Much property of churches and monasteries was confiscated, together with the treasures which the wealthier English had deposited in the monasteries for security.^b During the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Norman influence had for a time prevailed in England; many Normans had been advanced to high ecclesiastical stations, and the system of alien priories—*i. e.* of annexing priories and estates in England to foreign religious houses—had been largely practised.^c But under the ascendancy of Earl Godwin, the Norman archbishop of Canterbury, Robert of Jumièges, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, and the primacy had been conferred on Stigand, bishop of Winchester, who, after having unsuccessfully applied for the pall to Leo IX., received it from the antipope John of Velletri, and held his see in defiance of Alexander II.^d Stigand, according to some writers,^e refused to officiate at the coronation of the Conqueror, while others^f state that William refused his services; in any case, he was obnoxious as a Saxon. William for a time affected to treat him with great honour;^g but at a council held at Winchester, under

^a Sym. Dunelm. in Stevenson, iii. 547.^b Flor. Wigorn. ii. 5; Lingard, i. 469-470; Lappenberg, ii. 96.^c Archd. Churton speaks of it as then introduced (272). But earlier instances are mentioned in the Monasticon, *e. g.* the gift of Lewisham to St. Peter's of Ghent by Alfred's mother. vi. 987.^d Collier, i. 521; Lingard, i. 341-2.^e Will. Neubrig. i. 1 (*Rerum Britann.*

Scriptores, Heideib. 1597); Bronton (who, however, mentions both stories), ap. Twysden, 962.

^f Eadmer, 29; W. Malmesb. iii. 421; Sym. Dunelm. 547; Wendover, ii. 1. Lappenberg does not decide between the statements, ii. 67. Aldred had also crowned Harold. Lingard, i. 360.^g W. Malmesb. G. P. 116 b.

two papal legates, in 1070, he was charged with having intruded into the seat of a living bishop; with having irregularly held at once the sees of Winchester and Canterbury; with the want of a properly-conferred pall, and with having used for a time that of his ejected predecessor.^b These prettexts served for the deprivation of the archbishop, which was followed by that of other native prelates, so that, with a single exception, the English sees were soon in the hands of Normans, who either had been appointed under Edward or were now promoted by the Conqueror.ⁱ The system of preferring foreigners was gradually extended to the abbacies and lower dignities, and for a long series of years it was hopeless for any Englishman, whatever his merit might be, to aspire to any considerable station in the church of his own land.^k One Norman only, Guitmund, the opponent of Berengar, is recorded as having ventured to refuse an English bishoprick, and to protest against a system so adverse to the interests of the church and of the people.

The later Anglo-Saxon clergy are very unfavourably represented to us by writers after the conquest. It is said that they were scarcely able to stammer out the forms of Divine service—that any one who knew “grammar” was regarded by his brethren as a prodigy;^m and religion as well as learning had fallen into decay. But, although the increase of intercourse with other countries eventually led to an improvement in the English church, it seems questionable whether the immediate effect of the change introduced by the conquest was beneficial. The new prelates were in general chosen for other than ecclesiastical merits; they could not edify their flocks, whose language they would have scorned to understand; the Anglo-Saxon literature, the richest by far that any Teutonic nation as yet possessed, fell into oblivion and contempt; the traditions of older English piety were lost; and there was no

^b Flor. Wig. ii. 5; Rog. Hoveden, 269, b; Inett, ii. 7. At this council the crown was placed on William's head by the legates, who are therefore said by Lanfranc's biographer to have “confirmed him as king of England” (c. 6). But it seems to have been nothing more than the observance of a custom usual among northern nations, that at certain festival seasons the king wore his crown, which was placed on his head by some eminent prelate. See Cosm. Pragens. i. 28, and the note in Pertz, viii.; Inett, ii. 11. At Christmas, 1109, during a vacancy in the see of Canterbury, there

was a quarrel between the archbishop of York and the bishop of London (as provincial dean of Canterbury), which should “crown” Henry I. They wished to follow this up by a struggle for precedence at the king's table, but he ordered them both to be turned out of the hall. Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 83.

ⁱ Inett, ii. 14-5; Lappenb. ii. 100. The only Englishman who retained his bishoprick was the pious and simple-minded Wulstan, of Worcester.

^k Ingulph. in Stevenson, ii. 667; Eadmer, 29, 87; Lingard, i. 457.

^m W. Malmesb. ii. 417-8.

love or mutual confidence to win for the new hierarchy the influence which the native pastors had been able to exert for the enforcement of religion on their people.ⁿ

But while most dignities in the church were bestowed on illiterate warriors or on court-chaplains, the primacy was to be otherwise disposed of. Lanfranc had been sentenced by William to banishment from Normandy for opposing his marriage with Matilda, as being within the forbidden degrees; but, as he was on his way to leave the country, an accidental meeting with the duke led to a friendly understanding, so that Lanfranc was employed to obtain the pope's sanction for the union, and a removal of the interdict under which William's territories had been laid.^o His success in this commission recommended him to the duke's favour; he was transferred from Bec to the abbacy of St. Stephen's at Caen, the noble abbey which William was required to found in penance for the irregularity of his marriage, and, after having already refused the archbishoprick of Rouen, he was now urged to accept that of Canterbury.^p It was not without much reluctance that he resolved to undertake so onerous a dignity among a people of barbarous and unknown language; and the difficulties which he experienced and foresaw in the execution of his office induced him soon to solicit permission from Alexander II. to return to his monastery;^q but the pope refused to consent, and Lanfranc thereupon requested that the pall might be sent to him. The answer came from the archdeacon Hildebrand—that, if the pall could be granted to any one without his personal appearance at Rome, it would be granted to Lanfranc; but that the journey was indispensable.^r On his arrival at Rome, the archbishop was treated with distinguished

honour. The pope, who had formerly been his pupil at A.D. 1071. Bec, rose up to receive him, explaining that he did so out of regard not for his office but for his learning. He then desired Lanfranc in his turn to perform the reverence which was due to St. Peter;^s he bestowed on him two palls, as a mark of signal distinction,^t and invested him with the authority of legate. A question as to precedence was raised by Thomas, archbishop of York, who had accompanied Lanfranc to Rome, and contended that, according to Gregory's instructions to Augustine, the primacy of England ought to alternate between Canterbury and the northern see, for which he also claimed jurisdiction over Worcester, Lichfield,

ⁿ See Lappenb. ii. 97, 102.

^o Vita Lanfr. 7-8.

^p Ib. 4, 6.

^q Ep. 1; Ord. Vit. l. iv. t. ii. 212.

^r Inter Epp. Lanfr. 6.

^s Vita, 11; Padmer, 30.

^t W. Malmesb. G. P. 117.

and Lincoln.^u The pope declined to give judgment, and remitted the questions to England, where, after discussions in the king's presence at Winchester and at Windsor, they were decided on the ground of ancient custom in favour of Lanfranc.^{A.D. 1072.} The archbishop of York was required to promise submission to Canterbury, and, with his suffragans, to attend councils at such places as the archbishop of Canterbury should appoint.^x

Lanfranc exerted himself to reform the disorders of the English church, and in this he was effectually supported by the king, who bestowed on him his confidence, and usually entrusted him with the regency during his own absence on the continent. The primate used his influence to obtain the promotion of deserving men to bishopricks.^y Many churches which had fallen into ruin were rebuilt. Sees which had hitherto been established in villages or small towns were now removed to places of greater importance; thus the bishoprick of Selsey was transferred to Chichester, that of Sherborne to Sarum, Elmham to Thetford, Lichfield to Chester^z—a change agreeable to the ancient system of the church, but perhaps suggested by the policy of William, who, by thus placing the bishops in fortified cities, secured their assistance in preserving the subjection of the people.^a The effects of Dunstan's labours had passed away, and the English clergy had been accustomed to marry freely. Lanfranc was zealous for celibacy and monasticism. Like Dunstan, he endeavoured to substitute monks for secular canons in cathedrals, and serious struggles arose in consequence.^b Nor was the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy complete; for, although a council at Winchester, in 1076, enacted that no canon should have a wife, and that for the future no married man should be ordained priest or deacon, the rural clergy were, in contradiction to Gregory's regulations, allowed to retain their wives.^c

William was greatly indebted to Rome. His expedition had been sanctioned by a consecrated banner, the gift of Alexander II.,^d and he had found the papal support valuable in carrying out his plans as to the English church. But he was determined to make use of Rome—not to acknowledge her as a mistress. He held firmly in his own grasp the government of the church. By refraining from

^u W. Malmesb. G. P. 117; see p. 19.

^x Lanfr. Ep. 3; Vita, 10-11; Wilkins, i. 324-5.

^y Lappenberg, ii. 107-8.

^z W. Malmesb. 479, G. P. 117, b.

^a Lappenberg, ii. 126, who, in proof of his opinion, remarks that Old Sarum,

one of the new sees, was not a populous town, but merely a fortress.

^b W. Malmesb. G. P. 122, b; Eadmer, 10, 32; Theiner, 236-8.

^c Can. i.; Wilkins, i. 367.

^d W. Malmesb. i. 410.

the sale of preferment—however he may have been guilty of simony in that wider definition which includes the bestowal of benefices for service or by favour—he earned the commendation of Gregory;^e but he promoted bishops and abbots by his own will, invested them by the feudal forms, and in answer to Lanfranc's request, that he would restore to the archbishops of Canterbury the privilege of investing the abbots of St. Augustine's, he declared that he was resolved to "keep all the staves in his own hands."^f No pope was to be acknowledged in England, except by the king's permission; nor, although William allowed legates to hold synods in furtherance of his own views, was anything to be treated or enacted at them without his previous sanction. The bishops were not to obey citations to Rome; they were not to receive letters from the pope without showing them to the king; nor was any of his nobles or servants to be excommunicated without his license.^g The bishop was no longer to sit in the same court with the sheriff, but was confined to matters of spiritual jurisdiction.^h The estates of the clergy were subjected to the same feudal obligations as other lands.ⁱ

In his ecclesiastical policy William was willingly seconded by the Italian primate. Lanfranc was indeed no devoted adherent of Gregory, with whom he was probably dissatisfied on account of the indulgence which the pope had shown to his antagonist Berengar. In a letter to a partisan of the antipope, he professes neutrality as to the great contest of the time, and even shows an inclination towards the imperial side. After censuring the unseemly language which his correspondent had applied to Gregory, he adds—"yet I believe that the emperor has not undertaken so great an enterprise without much reason, nor has he been able to achieve so great a victory without much aid from God." And, while he advises Guibert's agent not to come to England, it is on the ground that the king's leave ought first to be obtained—that England has not rejected Gregory, or given a public adhesion to either pope, and that there is room for hearing both parties before coming to a decision.^k If such was the archbishop's feeling as to the controversy between the pope and the emperor, he could hardly fail to be wholly with his sovereign in any questions between England and Rome.

^e Ep. ix. 5. I cannot agree with Dr. Lappenberg, that the praise was either ironical or meant to point out what William *ought* to do (ii. 139).

^f Gervas. Dorob. quoted by Selden, n. in Eadmer, 104.

^g Eadmer, 29-30.

^h Wilkins, i. 368. This severance of jurisdictions, however, became the ground for great claims on the part of the clergy. See Inett, ii. 60-2.

ⁱ Inett, ii. 49.

^k Ep. 59.

Gregory, in his letters to William and to Lanfranc, spoke of the king with profuse expressions of the deepest respect, as incomparably superior to all other princes of the age; and, when obliged to censure any of his acts, he was careful to season the censure with compliments to the king's character, with remembrances of their old mutual regard, and of the services which he had rendered to William in former days.^m But these blandishments were thrown away on a sovereign whose policy was as decided, and whose will was as strong, as those of Gregory himself. When, in 1079, the pope required William to see to the payment of Peter-pence from England, and to swear fealty to the apostolic see, the answer was cool and peremptory—"Your legate has admonished me in your name to do fealty to you and your successors, and to take better order as to the money which my predecessors have been accustomed to send to the Roman church; the one I have admitted, the other I have not admitted."ⁿ The payment was to be made, not as a tribute, but as alms.^o The pope declared that money without obedience was worthless, and at the same time he complained of the king's conduct in other respects; that, by a presumption which no one even among heathen princes had ventured on, he prevented the prelates of his kingdom from visiting the apostle's city; that he had promoted to the see of Rouen the son of a priest—an appointment to which Gregory was resolved never to consent. His legate was charged to threaten William with the wrath of St. Peter unless he should repent, and to cite certain representatives of the English and Norman bishops to a synod at Rome.^p No heed was paid to this citation; but the pope submitted to the slight; and he is afterwards found communicating with the archbishop of Rouen, without any mention of the bar to his promotion.^q Equally unsuccessful were his attempts on Lanfranc. Again and again invitations, becoming by degrees more urgent, required the archbishop to appear at Rome, where he had not been since Gregory's election. After a time the pope expresses a belief that he is influenced by fear of the king, but tells him that neither fear, nor love, nor the difficulties of the journey, ought to detain him.^r Lanfranc, in his answer, showed no disposition to comply; and he alluded, with an indifference which must have been very annoying, to the failure of the pope's claim to

^m E. g. Epp. i. 31; i. 70; vi. 30; vii. 23, 25.

ⁿ Inter Epp. Lanfr. 7.

^o Inett, ii. 42.

^p Ep. vii. 1 (Sept. 23, 1079, Jaffé).

^q Ep. ix. 1.

^r Ep. vi. 30 (Mar. 25, 1079).

fealty.^a At length Gregory summoned the archbishop to set out for Rome within four months after receiving his citation, and to appear there on a certain day, under pain of deposition ;^c but the citation was as vain as those before it, and the threat was never followed up.

Gregory again found himself obliged to remonstrate in the case of William's half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Odo, deluded (it is said) by the arts of soothsayers, who assured him that a person of his name was to be pope, sent large sums of money to Rome for the purpose of securing himself an interest there, and enlisted a considerable force with which he intended to make his way to Italy. But William, on discovering the project, arrested and imprisoned him ; and, in answer to an objection as to the bishop's spiritual character, declared that he had proceeded against him, not as bishop, but as earl of Kent." Gregory expostulated with the king, insisting on the immunities of the clergy, and quoting the text—"He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye ;"^x but Odo remained in prison until his brother, on his deathbed, reluctantly ordered his release ;^y and here, as in the other cases, conduct which would have drawn down the most awful thunders of Rome on the head of a weaker prince, was allowed to pass unpunished in the stern, able, powerful, and resolute master of England and Normandy.

In 1087 the Conqueror was succeeded by William Rufus. For a time the new king was kept within some degree of restraint by the influence of Lanfranc, who had been his tutor ; but on the archbishop's death, in 1089, his evil dispositions were altogether uncontrolled. William, according to an ancient writer, "feared God but little, and men not at all."^z His character was utterly profane ; his coarse and reckless wit was directed not only against the superstitions of the age, or against the clergy, whom he despised and hated, but against religion itself.^a The gross and shameless debaucheries in which he indulged gave an example which his subjects were not slow to imitate.^b The rapacity by which he endeavoured to supply his profuse expenditure^c fell with

^a Lanfr. Ep. 8.

^c Ep. ix. 20 (Dec. 4, 1081).

^x Order. Vital. vii. 8 (t. iii. 189 seqq.). The Odo who became pope was Urban II. Dr. Lappenberg thinks it probable that Gregory invited the bishop of Bayeux to aid him with an army against the emperor, and even flattered him with the hope of succeeding to the

papacy, ii. 137.

^z Zach. ii. 8 ; Greg. Ep. xi. 2.

^y Flor. Wigorn. ii. 20.

^a W. Malmesb. 495 ; see, too, Rog.

Wendover, ii. 160.

^b See, for instances, Eadmer, 52.

^c Order. Vital. iv. 9 ; H. Huntingdon, 216,^b (ap. Savile).

^e For this, see Malmesbury, 496.

especial weight on the property of the church. In former times the revenues of a vacant abbey had been committed to the bishop, and those of a vacant bishoprick to the archbishop, under whose superintendence they were applied to religious or charitable uses ;^d under the Conqueror, they were administered by a clerk, who was accountable for his stewardship to the next incumbent.^e But William's chosen adviser, a Norman ecclesiastic of low birth, named Ralph Passeflaber or Flambard^f devised the idea that, as bishopricks and abbacies were fiefs of the crown, the profits of them during vacancy belonged to the sovereign. Under this pretext William kept bishopricks long vacant ; while the diocese was left without a pastor, he extorted all that was possible from the tenants of the see, by means alike oppressive to them and injurious to the future bishop ;^g and the most unblushing simony was practised in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments.^h

After the death of Lanfranc, the primacy remained vacant for nearly four years. In answer to entreaties that he would nominate a successor, William swore as he was wont, "by the holy face of Lucca," that he would as yet have no archbishop but himself ; and when public prayers were offered up for the direction of his choice, he said that the church might ask what it pleased, but that he was resolved to take his own way.ⁱ A severe illness, which followed soon after, was regarded as a judgment of heaven ; the king was earnestly urged to show his penitence by filling up the primacy, and by redressing the grievances of his government. He consented, promised amendment, and made choice of Anselm as archbishop.^k

Anselm was born of an honourable family at Aosta, in 1033 or the following year.^m His boyhood was devout, but was succeeded

^d Orderic. iii. 313 ; Collier, ii. 66.

^e W. Malmesb. 497 ; Lingard, i. 534.

^f Order. Vital. iv. 54, 107-8. It has been questioned whether he was called Flambard (*firebrand*) on account of his character, since he figures under that name in Domesday Book as a possessor of land in Hampshire before the Conquest (Lapenberg, ii. 167 ; Foss, Judges of England, i. 63). But Anselm says, "Propter crudelitatem similem flammæ comburenti prænominæ Flambardus" (Ep. iv. 2) ; and it would seem from Orderic (iii. 311) that the name was given to him as characteristic before he attained power.

^g Order. Vital. iii. 312 ; Flor. Wigorn. ii. 46 ; Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1100.

^h Eadmer, 34.

ⁱ Eadm. 34-5. The "Holy Face of

Lucca" was a figure of the Saviour in cedar wood, said to have been carved by St. Nicodemus, and still preserved in the cathedral. Baron. 1099, 40-7 ; Murray's Handbook of N. Italy, 390, ed. 1854.

^k Eadm. 35. Authorities used for Anselm :—Opera, ed. Gerberon, Paris, 1721 ; Eadmer, Vita Anselmi, and Historia Novorum, in Appendix to Anselm ; Möhler, Anselm v. Canterbury (Aufsätze, i.) ; Church's Essays and Reviews, Lond. 1854 (including two papers on St. Anselm from the British Critic of 1843) ; Hasse, Anselm v. Canterbury, vol. ii. transl. by Turner, Lond. 1850, vol. ii. Leipz. 1852 ; Ch. de Rémusat, S. Anselme de Cantorbéry, Paris, 1853.

^m Rémusat, 22.

by a somewhat irregular youth, more especially after the death of his pious and gentle mother, to whom he was deeply attached. The harshness with which his father treated him produced a resolution to leave his home; he crossed the Alps, and, after having, like Lanfranc, resided for some time at Avranches, he became, at the age of twenty-seven, a monk at Bec, where the founder, Herluin, was still abbot, while Lanfranc was prior and master of the school.^a On the removal of Lanfranc to Caen, in 1063, Anselm succeeded him in his offices, and at the death of Herluin, in 1078, he was elected to the abbacy. Each dignity which he attained increased his anxious feeling of responsibility, and he would have returned to the condition of a simple monk, but for the authority of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen.^b His fame speedily even surpassed that of Lanfranc, and his name was widely spread by treatises on philosophical, theological and grammatical subjects. Pupils flocked to his instructions; questions were addressed to him from all quarters, and his friend and biographer, Edmer, tells us that his answers were received as oracles from heaven.^c Since the time of St. Augustine, the church had produced no teacher of equal eminence with Anselm, or so powerful in his influence on later times. He has been described as the founder of natural theology;^d but the term must be understood as signifying a theology which aimed at bringing the aid of philosophical thought to the support of the strictest orthodoxy of the church.^e Whereas Scotus had made philosophy his foundation, and had endeavoured to reduce religion into accordance with it, the method of Anselm was exactly the opposite; its character is expressed in the title originally given to his "Proslogion"—"Faith in search of Understanding."^f The object of that work is to prove the existence and attributes of the Deity by a single argument. Edmer relates that when the idea of such a proof had entered into Anselm's mind, he was unable to eat, to drink, or to sleep; it disturbed him at his devotions, and, although he endeavoured to resist it as a temptation of the devil, he could not rest until, in the watches of the night, a light broke in on him—"God is that than which nothing greater can be conceived; and he who well understands this will understand that the Divine Being exists in such a manner that His non-existence cannot even be conceived."^g A monk named Gaunilo wrote a

^a Eadm. 2-3.^b Ib. 5-9.^c Ib. 8; Möhler, 54.^d Schröckh, xxiv. 352-3.^e See Rénusat, 55-7, 478; Möhler, 316; Ampère, iii. 306; Hasse, ii. 50-1;

Gieseler, II., ii. 783-6; Milman, iii. 356-7; Ritter, vii. 225-9.

^f "Fides quærens intellectum."^g Opera, 29; Rénusat, 459.^h Eadm. 6.ⁱ Proslogion, c. 4.

short tract in reply, objecting that the conception of a thing does not imply its existence, and exemplifying this by the fabulous island of Atlantis;^x and Anselm rejoined that the illustration was inapplicable to the question, since existence is a part of the perfections which are conceived of as belonging to the Deity.^y

The character of Anselm was amiable, gentle, and modest. Simple, and even severe, in his own habits, he was indulgent to others, and the confidence which he placed in those below him, with his indifference to the vulgar interests of the world, was often abused. Edmer draws a very pleasing picture of his familiar intercourse, and relates many stories which illustrate his wisdom, his kindly temper, his mild and yet subtle humour.^z In one of these stories, an abbot "who was accounted very religious," applies in despair for advice as to the treatment of the pupils in his monastery; he had flogged them indefatigably both by day and by night, but, instead of amending, they only grew worse. Anselm by degrees leads him to understand that so brutal a discipline could only be expected to brutalise its objects, and the abbot returns home to practise a wiser and a gentler system.^a But as the exercise of Anselm's philosophical genius was subordinated to the strictest orthodoxy, so with his calm and peaceful nature he combined the most unbending resolution in the cause of the hierarchical system. To this he seems to have adhered, not from any feeling of interest or passion, or even of strong personal conviction, but because it was sanctioned by the church, while the scandalous abuses perpetrated by such sovereigns as William Rufus tended to blind him to the existence of dangers on the other side; and his assertion of it was marked by nothing of violence or assumption, but by an immoveable tenacity and perseverance.^b

Anselm was already known and honoured in England, which he had visited for the purpose of superintending the English estates of his abbey. He had been acquainted with the Conqueror, who, in conversing with him, laid aside his wonted sternness;^c and he had been the guest of Lanfranc, who had profited by his advice to deal tenderly with the peculiarities and prejudices of the people com-

^x Liber pro Insuperante (a title referring to Anselm's quotation of Ps. xiv. 1), in Anselm's works, 36.

^y Liber Apologeticus contra Gaunilonem respondentem pro Insuperante, Opera, 37-40. See Hist. Litt. viii. 153; Hasse, ii. 241; Ritter, vii. 335-8. Anselm's argument did not find favour

with the schoolmen in general, but has become famous in later times as revived, and perhaps independently (although this is not certain), by Des Cartes. Rémusat, 527-531.

^z Edm. 16, 21.

^a Ib. 8.

^b Rémusat, 286; Martineau, 302.

^c Edm. 33.

mitted to his care.^d It was with great reluctance that, during the vacancy of the primacy, he yielded to the repeated invitations of Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester; for he knew that popular opinion had designated him as the successor of his old master; he was unwilling to exchange his monastery, with its quiet opportunities of study and of thought, and his position of influence as a teacher, for the pomp and troubled dignity of the English primacy; and, honouring royalty, disliking contention, but firmly resolved to maintain the cause of the church, he shrank from the connexion with such a prince as William—a connexion which he compared to the yoking together a young untamed bull with an old and feeble sheep.^e He therefore endeavoured, with a sincerity which cannot be questioned, to decline the office; but he was carried into the sick king's chamber at Gloucester, the crosier was forced into his hands, and notwithstanding his struggles he was hurried away to a neighbouring church, where the people received him with acclamations as archbishop, and the clergy sang "Te Deum" for the election.^f He did not, however, consider himself at liberty to accept the primacy, until he had been released from his obligations to his monks, to the archbishop of Rouen, and to his sovereign, duke Robert of Normandy.^g

The king recovered, and relapsed into courses even worse than before. The works of amendment which he had begun were undone, and when Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, ventured gently to remind him of his late promises, he disavowed the obligation in a speech of outrageous profanity.^h Anselm waited on him at Dover, and stated the terms on which only he would consent to be archbishop—that he should be allowed to enjoy all the rights of this see which Lanfranc had possessed, with such portions of its alienated property as he should be able to recover; that William should pay him the same regard in spiritual matters which he claimed from the archbishop in temporal things; and that no offence should arise as to his acknowledgment of Pope Urban, who had not yet been recognised in England. The answer was, that he

^d In particular, Lanfranc questioned the title of Archbishop Alphege, murdered by the Danes in 1012 (*Sax. Chron. in Ann.*), to the character of saint and martyr, in which the English regarded him, "although they do not deny that he was slain, not for the confession of Christ's name, but because he would not redeem himself with money." Anselm showed how, even without inquiring farther into the history, the

national reverence might be justified, and Lanfranc was convinced. *Eadm.* 10-1.

^e *Eadmer*, 36; *Rémusat*, 155-7.

^f *Anselm*, *Epp.* iii. 1-2; *Eadm.* 13, 34-6.

^g *Epp.* iii. 4, 10.

^h "Scias, O episcopo, quod per sanctum vultum de Luca nunquam me Deus bonum habebit pro malo quod mihi intulerit." *Eadm.* 37.

should have all which Lanfranc had had, but that the other points must remain undecided for the present.ⁱ The archbishop was invested in September, 1093, but his consecration did not take place until the 4th of December. At this ceremony the archbishop of York objected to the title of "Metropolitan of all England," on the ground that the metropolitan power of Canterbury did not extend over the northern province. The objection was allowed, and the title of Primate was substituted.^k

The first entrance of Anselm into his city had been disturbed by the appearance of Flambard, who in the king's name instituted against him a suit of which the subject is not recorded;^m and other events soon occurred to justify the apprehensions with which he had undertaken his office. William was busy in raising subsidies for an intended expedition into Normandy, and Anselm, after his consecration, was advised by his friends to send him a contribution of five hundred pounds, in the hope that it might induce the king to befriend the church. William was at first pleased with the gift, but some of his advisers persuaded him that it was too little—that the archbishop, in consideration of his promotion, ought to have given twice or four times as much. Anselm replied that he could not raise more without distressing his tenants; that it should not be his last gift; that a little freely given was better than a larger sum extorted; and, as William persevered in refusing the money, he bestowed it on the poor for the benefit of the king's soul, comforting himself with the thought that he could not be charged with even the appearance of simony.ⁿ William was deeply offended. He evaded the fulfilment of his promise as to the restoration of the archbishop's estates.^o He refused him leave to hold a council for the suppression of disorders among the clergy and monks, and for the general reformation of morals; and when Anselm urged the necessity of filling up the vacant abbacies, he asked, "What is that to you? are not the abbays mine?" "They are yours," replied the primate, "to defend and protect as advocate, but they are not yours to invade and to devastate."^p The knowledge of the royal disfavour naturally raised up or encouraged a host of lesser enemies, who industriously persecuted Anselm by their encroachments on his property and by other annoyances.^q The bishops advised

ⁱ Eadm. 37; Anselm, Ep. iii. 24.

^k Eadm. 13, 37.

^m Ib. 37.

ⁿ Ep. iii. 24; Eadm. 13, 38. Dr. Lingard observes (i. 539) that the money was probably borrowed, as the tenants

of the see had been so drained by the royal exactions during the vacancy that for three years Anselm was obliged to anticipate his income. Eadm. 85.

^o Epp. iii. 24.

^p Eadm. 39.

^q Id. 17.

him to propitiate the king by a new offering of five hundred pounds; but he declared that he would not oppress his exhausted tenants, and that such a proceeding would be alike unworthy of the king and of himself.[†]

Notwithstanding all discouragements, the archbishop set vigorously about the work of reform. In the beginning of Lent, when the court was at Hastings, he refused to give the customary ashes and benediction to the young nobles who affected an effeminate style of dress and manners—wearing long hair which they curled and adorned like women. It is not to be supposed that he regarded for their own sake these follies, or the fashionable shoes in which the invention of Fulk of Anjou[‡] had been developed by one of William's courtiers, who twisted their long points into the likeness of a ram's horn.[§] But he dreaded the tendency of such fashions to extinguish a high and active spirit, and he denounced them from a knowledge that they were connected with habits of luxury, of gaming, and with the unnatural vices which had become rife in England since the conquest.^{||}

Since the death of Gregory VII. neither of the rival popes had been acknowledged in England.^x The king had come to regard it as a special prerogative of his crown, distinguishing him from other sovereigns, that no pope should be recognised except by his permission; and this opinion had been encouraged by courtly prelates.^y The right of Urban had, however, been admitted in Normandy, and Anselm, as we have seen, had stipulated that he should be allowed to adhere to the profession which, as abbot of Bec, he had made to that pontiff. He now, on William's return from the Norman expedition, requested leave to go to Rome, and to receive his pall from the pope. "From which pope?" asked the king; and, on Anselm's replying "From Urban," he angrily declared that neither his father nor himself had ever allowed any one to be styled pope in England without their special warrant; as well might the archbishop attempt to deprive him of his crown.

[†] Eadm. 39.

[‡] See p. 628.

[§] Order. Vital. iii. 323, who styles the master of this fashion "nebulo."

^{||} Ib. 323-5; W. Malmesb. 498; Eadm. 39; Lingard, ii. 6. Fashion was, however, too strong. Orderic gives an invective against long hair, beards, and "scorpion" shoes, pronounced before Henry I., in 1005, by Serlo, bishop of Séez. The king, who had then particular reasons for conciliating the Norman clergy, submitted, and the bishop,

drawing out a pair of scissors, clipped him and his courtiers on the spot. But Edmer, at a later time, tells us that any one who did not wear long hair was taken for a rustic or a monk (84), and, as the notes on the passage of Orderic (iv. 207-210) show, the fashions long survived.

^x Anselm, Ep. iii. 37; Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1091.

^y See the bishop of Durham's speech at Rockingham, in Eadm. 41.

Anselm on this desired that the question whether his duty to the pope were inconsistent with his duty to the king might be discussed at a council; and an assembly of bishops and nobles met for the purpose at Rockingham, in March, 1095.^z

The archbishop took his stand on the principle that God ought to be obeyed rather than man. Two only of his own order, the bishops of Rochester^a and Chichester, supported him. William of St. Calais,^b bishop of Durham, and Herbert of Norwich, who, from his character, was styled *the Flatterer*,^c vehemently opposed him; while the rest, accustomed as they had been to the Conqueror's ecclesiastical supremacy, and perplexed by the discord between powers which had until then acted in concert, behaved with timidity and indecision.^d The king maintained that it was an invasion of his rights for a subject to look to any other authority, even in spiritual things. The bishops advised the archbishop to make full submission; but, when William asked them to disown him, said that they could not venture on such a step against the primate, not only of England, but of Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent islands. Anselm, who throughout retained his composure, and at one time even fell asleep while the bishops had withdrawn for a consultation, professed his readiness to answer for his conduct in the proper place; and his enemies were alarmed at the words, which meant that, as metropolitan, he was amenable to the pope's jurisdiction only. The bishop of Durham, after having in vain attempted to influence Anselm, told the king that, as the archbishop had Scripture and the canons in his favour, the only way to deal with him was by force—that he should be stripped of the ensigns of his dignity, and should be banished from the realm.^e On being again asked by William whether they renounced the archbishop, some of the prelates replied that they did so absolutely; others, that they renounced him in so far as he pretended to act by Urban's authority. The king was indignant at the qualified answer, and those who had made it were afterwards obliged to pay for the re-

^z Eadm. 17, 40.

^a Gundulf was an old friend of Anselm, many of whose letters are addressed to him from Bec.

^b De Sancto Carilefo—the monastery of St. Calais, in Normandy. Symeon of Durham gives a high character of this prelate. Hist. Dunelm. iv. 1, 5, cols. 49, 52, ap. Twysden.

^c Losinga. He had obtained the bishoprick of Thetford by simony, but

afterwards went to Rome, resigned it, and received a new appointment from the pope. On his return he removed the see to Norwich (A.D. 1094) where he founded the cathedral, and expended much wealth in other acts of munificence. Flor. Wigorn. ii. 33; Foss, 'Judges of England,' i. 127-8.

^d Eadm. 41; Church, 153; Régnisat, 198.

^e Eadm. 17, 42.

covery of his favour.^f The nobles behaved with greater spirit than the bishops, declaring that, although they had not taken any oath to the primate, they could not disown him, especially as he had committed no offence; while the people, who surrounded the place of meeting, were zealous in his cause, and loudly exclaimed against his cowardly brethren as Judases, Pilates, and Herods.^g At length it was resolved that there should be a truce until the octave of Whitsunday. Anselm was ordered to confine himself to his diocese; but the truce was broken by the pillage of his estates, by attacks on his train, and by the banishment of some of his confidential friends.^h

William took advantage of the interval to send two ecclesiastics to Rome, with instructions to inquire into the claims of the rival popes, to make terms with the claimant whom they should find to be legitimate, and to obtain from him a pall for the archbishop of Canterbury, without naming Anselm, for whom the king hoped by this means to substitute another. The decision was in favour of Urban; and a pall was brought to England by Walter, bishop of Albano. The king agreed to acknowledge Urban; but when he asked the legate to depose Anselm, he was told that it was impossible. The archbishop was summoned to court, and was desired to receive the pall from William's own hands. He replied that it was not for any secular person to give the pall; and, as he persevered in his refusal, it was agreed that the pall should be laid

by the legate on the high altar at Canterbury, and that
 June 10. the archbishop should take it thence, as from the hand of St. Peter.ⁱ

Robert of Normandy was now about to set out for the crusade, and had agreed to pledge the duchy to his brother in consideration of a sum of money for the expenses of his expedition. In order to make up this money, William had recourse to severe exactions. He seized the plate of monasteries; and, when the monks remonstrated, he met them in his usual style by asking—“Have ye not coffins of gold and silver for dead men's bones?”^k Anselm contributed liberally; but he was soon after required to answer in the king's court for having failed in the proper equipment of some soldiers whom he had supplied for an expedition against the Welsh.^m He saw in this summons a design to bring

^f Eadm. 43.

^g Id. 42.

ⁱ Eadm. 44-5.

^h Id. 43; Collier, ii. 77; Lappenb. ii. 193.

^k Fuller, i. 282.

^m Eadm. 17, 46.

him under feudal subjection, and knew that he could not look for justice, while the hopelessness of any satisfactory relations with such a prince as William became continually more and more evident. He therefore resolved to lay his case before the pope, and requested leave to go to Rome that he might represent the state of the English church. William met the application by telling him that he had no need to make such a journey; he had done nothing to require absolution; and, as for advice, he was fitter to give it to the pope than the pope to him.ⁿ The suit was thrice urged in vain. Anselm declared that he must obey God rather than man; and that, if leave were refused, he must yet go to Rome. The bishops, whom he requested to support him, told him that they revered his piety and heavenly conversation, but that it was too far above them; if he would descend to their level they would gladly give him their assistance; but that otherwise they must decline to do anything inconsistent with their duty to the king.^o William required him either to renounce his design, and swear that he would never apply to St. Peter, or to quit the kingdom for ever, but finally, at Winchester, yielded an ungracious consent. The archbishop offered to give him his bless- Oct. 15,
ing unless it were refused; William replied that he did 1097.
not refuse it, and they parted with a solemn benediction.^p

At Canterbury the archbishop took from the altar the staff and the dress of a pilgrim. When about to embark at Dover, he was subjected to the indignity of having his baggage publicly searched by William of Warelwast, one of the king's chaplains, in the vain hope of finding treasures; and after his departure his archiepiscopal acts were annulled, the property of his see was seized, and his tenants were oppressed by the king's officers more mercilessly than ever.^q

Anselm had been forbidden to take his way through Normandy.^r The earlier part of his journey was a triumphant progress; the latter part was, from the fear of antipapalists and of robbers, performed in the dress of a simple monk, undistinguished by appearance from his companions, Baldwin, and the biographer Edmer, precentor of Canterbury, whom in one of his epistles he describes as "the staff of his old age."^s On arriving at Rome, he was received with extraordinary distinction by Urban, who declared that he ought to be treated as an equal—as "pope and patriarch of another world"—

ⁿ Ep. iii. 11; Eadm. 17, 47; Rému-
sat, 226.
^o Eadm. 47.

^p Id. 18, 48.

^q Id. 19, 48-9.

^r Order. Vital. iv. 55.

^s Ep. iii. 25; Eadm. 19, 20, 49.

and wrote to the king of England, desiring that the archiepiscopal property should be released from confiscation.¹ After a stay of ten days in the city, Anselm withdrew to a monastery near Telesse, in compliance with an invitation from the abbot, John, a Norman and formerly his pupil. In order that he might escape the extreme heat of summer, his host conveyed him to a retreat among the neighbouring hills; and here he finished a treatise which he had begun in England, on the purpose of the Saviour's Incarnation²—a treatise of which the doctrine has become a standard of orthodoxy even in communions where the obligation to Anselm is little suspected. In the opening of it, he states that the subject was engaging the attention not only of the learned, but of many uneducated Christians. He shows the necessity of a satisfaction for sin in order that man might become capable of that blessedness for which he was originally created; the impossibility that this satisfaction should be rendered except by God, while yet it must be made by man, from whom it was due;³ and the consequent necessity that the Mediator, who was to effect the reconciliation by his voluntary death, should at once be perfect God and perfect man.⁴

Anselm in his retreat was regarded with veneration by all who saw him,—even by the Saracens of the Apulian army. He thought of resigning his dignities, and of devoting himself to labour in this new sphere; but the pope rejected the proposal, and required him to attend a council which was to be held at Bari, before the body of St. Nicolas, with a view to the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches.⁵ At this assembly, when the question of Oct. 1097.

the Procession of the Holy Ghost was proposed, Urban, after arguing from one of Anselm's treatises, desired the archbishop himself to stand forward, and pronounced a high eulogium on his character and sufferings. Anselm was ready to discuss the subject, but was requested to defer his argument until the following day, when he spoke with a clearness and eloquence which won universal admiration.⁶ The pope then entered on the grievances of the

¹ Eadm. 20, 50.

² Ib. 20; Anselm, Preface to 'Cur Deus Homo.' ³ L. ii. 6.

⁴ Ib. 7-11. The argument is partly grounded (i. 16-8) on an idea set forth by St. Augustine ('Enchiridion, i. 29; De Civ. Dei, xxii. i. 2), that men were required to fill up the places of the fallen angels in heaven. Hasse cites Boëthius, Scotus Erigena, and others, to the same effect (ii. 516). Lau (Gregor d. Grosse, 362, 412) refers for the idea

to Greg. Moral. xxx. 49—a chapter which does not exist; but there is something like it in xxv. 20. Gregory, as reported by Lau, maintains that the number of the elect will be the same as that of the lost angels; but Anselm (i. 18) holds that it will be greater.

⁵ Eadm. 21, 52-3. The only records of this council are in the English writers. Hard, vi. 1753.

⁶ Eadm. 53. His arguments were afterwards embodied in a book.

English church; the council was unanimous for the excommunication of William; and Urban, inspired by his success in the great movement of the crusade, was about to pronounce the sentence, when Anselm, throwing himself at his feet, entreated him to forbear, and gained fresh admiration by this display of mildness towards his oppressor.^b

The archbishop accompanied Urban to Rome, where he was treated with a reverence second only to the pope, while the people, impressed by his demeanour, spoke of him not as "the man" or "the archbishop," but as "the *holy* man."^c About Christmas, envoys from England appeared—William of Warelwast being one. The pope told them that their master must restore everything to the archbishop on pain of excommunication; but in private interviews they were able, by means of large presents, to obtain a truce until Michaelmas.^d At the synod of the following Lent, the decrees against investitures and homage were renewed, and were received with general acclamation.^e Renger, bishop of Lucca, introduced the subject of Anselm's wrongs, in an indignant speech, to which he added emphasis by striking the floor with his pastoral staff; and it was with difficulty that the pope prevailed on him to desist, while Anselm, to whom the mention of his case was unexpected, took no part in the scene.^f It was, however, now evident to him that he could not expect any strenuous assistance from Urban, and he withdrew to Lyons, where for a year and a half he was entertained with the greatest honour by archbishop Hugh. At Lyons he heard of the pope's death, in July 1099, and of that of William in August 1100.^g

Henry I., at his coronation, promised to redress the grievances in the church and in the civil administration from which his subjects had suffered during the late reign. Flambard, who had succeeded William of St. Calais as bishop of Durham, was committed to the Tower.^h The king resolved to fill up the vacant bishopricks and abbeys; he urgently invited Anselm to return,ⁱ and, on Sept. 1100. his arrival, apologised for having been crowned in the primate's absence.^k But a subject of difference soon arose.

The custom of investiture and homage, which were regarded as inseparable, was so firmly settled in England, that Anselm,

^b Eadm. 53.^c Id. 21.^h Saxon. Chron. 1100-1; Foss, i. 65.^d Eadm. 54.

He made his escape; and eventually recovered his see.

^e "Fiat! fiat!"
Hoveden, 268.

Ib. 55; Rog.

ⁱ Anselm. Ep. iii. 41.^f Eadm. 55.^g Id. 22, 55-6.^k Eadm. 57.

notwithstanding his lofty ecclesiastical principles, had without scruple submitted to it at his elevation to the primacy.^m But when he was now required to repeat his engagements, in acknowledgment of the new sovereign, he answered that it was forbidden by the Roman council which he had lately attended. He declared that, although the objection to the ceremony was not his own, he held himself bound to maintain the council's decrees, and that if the king would not admit them, he could not communicate with him, or remain in England. He suggested, however, that Henry might ask the pope to dispense with the enforcement of them in his dominions.ⁿ A truce until Easter was agreed on, and soon after it had expired, the king received an answer to a letter which he had written to the pope. In this answer Paschal dwelt on the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular power, but without touching the question whether investiture and homage were really an invasion of the church's spiritual rights.^o

The king found it necessary to temporise. He feared the influence of his brother Robert, who had returned from the east, adding to the charm of his popular manners the fame of a brave warrior, who had borne a conspicuous share in the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels. Henry, therefore, could not afford to alienate the clergy, while he was unwilling to give up so important a part of his prerogative as that which was now assailed.^p The nobles in general were opposed to the ecclesiastical claim, and the bishops joined them in declaring that, rather than yield the national rights, they would expel the primate from the realm, and renounce their connexion with Rome.^q Gerard, archbishop of York, Herbert of Norwich and Robert of Coventry, were sent to Rome on the part of the king; Baldwin and another monk on that of Anselm. The bishops were charged with a letter, in which Henry, while professing his desire to respect the pope as his predecessors had done, declared himself resolved to uphold the rights of his crown; if, he said, he were to abase himself by suffering them to be diminished, neither his nobles nor his people would endure it; and he desired Paschal to choose between a relaxation of the decrees and a loss of England from his obedience.^r

^m Lappenberg, ii. 249.

ⁿ Ep. iii. 100; Eadm. 57.

^o Eadmer gives it, p. 59.

^p Eadm. 57.

^q Anselm. ad Paschalem, ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacra, ii. 178 (from a Lambeth

MS.). The words are omitted in Gerberton's version of the letter, iii. 47. Cf. Epp. iv. 2, 4, 6.

^r The letter is given by Bromton, Ann. 1103, ap. Twysden, 499.

In answer to the solicitations of the bishops, the pope declared that, even to save his life, he would not recede from the decrees; he wrote to the king that his treatment of the church was as if an unnatural son should reduce his mother to bondage; and he addressed to Anselm a letter of commendation and encouragement.^s The bishops, however, who brought back the letter for Henry, professed to have been verbally assured by the pope that, if the king would in other respects discharge his duties well, he should not be troubled on the subject of investiture. The archbishop's envoys said that they had received no such communication; but the bishops rejoined that it had been made in secret; that the pope would not commit it to writing, lest it should come to the knowledge of other princes, who might thereupon claim a like allowance. A vehement dispute followed. Baldwin indignantly insisted that he and his companion ought to be believed, supported as they were by the pope's letters. It was replied that the word of an archbishop and two bishops ought to outweigh that of two monkings,^t who by their very profession were disqualified for bearing witness in secular courts; and that it was far superior to sheepskins bescribbled with ink, with a lump of lead appended to them: to which Baldwin rejoined that the question was not secular but spiritual.^u A fresh reference was made to Rome, for the purpose of ascertaining the pope's real sentiments,^x and in the mean time Anselm agreed that he would not suspend communion with the king, or with those who were invested by him. But he refused to consecrate some clergy of the court who were nominated to bishopricks; and, although the archbishop of York was willing to take the chief part in the rite, two of the nominees declined to receive consecration on such terms.^y

At Michaelmas, 1102, a council was held at London, and, by Anselm's desire, it was attended by the nobles of the realm, in order to add force to its decisions. A number of abbots were deprived for simony or other irregularities; the obligation of celibacy was now for the first time extended to the parochial clergy of England; and the other canons bear sad evidence to the con-

^s Eadm. 61. Hume, after a fruitless search for the text, "I have said ye are gods," which Paschal quotes in one of his letters, supposes it to be probably "a forgery of his Holiness" i. 291.

^t "Monachelli."

^u Eadm. 62. Dr. Lappenberg seems to think the pope had acted with duplicity (ii. 250-1). Mr. Church acquits

him (208). Professor Hasse (Transl. 155) thinks that the bishops had misunderstood him; M. de Rémusat, that in conversation he had spoken in a conciliatory tone, supposing that the parties would come to an agreement. 302.

^x Anselm, Ep. iii. 73.

^y Eadm. 63-4.

dition into which religion, discipline, and morality had sunk under the misgovernment of William Rufus.^z The enforcement of celibacy met with strong opposition, especially in the province of York, where many of the priests preferred the alternative of shutting their church-doors, and giving up the performance of all Divine service.^a

The king and the archbishop received answers from the pope; but Henry refused to make known the contents of that addressed to him, and Anselm refrained for a time from opening the other, lest it should involve him in fresh difficulties. The king made an opportunity of visiting him at Canterbury, and proposed that the archbishop should himself go to Rome with a view of obtaining a relaxation of the decrees. Anselm replied that, although old and infirm, he was willing to undertake the journey, but that he would not do anything to the injury of the church, or to his own discredit; whereupon he was assured that he would only be expected to confirm the evidence of the king's own envoys as to the state of English affairs.^b

The archbishop set out, and on arriving at Bec, opened the pope's letter, by which he found that Paschal solemnly disavowed the words imputed to him by Henry's late envoys, and placed the three prelates under censure until they should make satisfaction.^c After a journey in which honours everywhere waited on him, he reached Rome, and about the same time William of Warelwast arrived as representative of the king. At an audience of the pope, the envoy declared that his master would rather lose his crown than abandon the right of investiture. Paschal replied that he himself would die rather than yield up his claim; but, by way of conciliation, he confirmed in some other points the usages which had been introduced by William the Conqueror. Anselm soon discovered that his opponents were employing the substantial arguments which were generally successful at Rome; and, after having received the papal blessing, with a vague confirmation of the privileges of his see, he again withdrew to the hospitality of Hugh of Lyons, who, since his former visit, had performed the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.^d On the way he was overtaken by William of Warelwast, who travelled for some time in his company, and at parting told him that the king would gladly see

^z Eadm. 63; Wilkins, i. 382.

^a Sym. Danelm. Ann. 1102, ap. Twysden, 228; Hen. Huntingd. l. vii. ap. Savile, 217.

^b Eadm. 65.

^c Anselm. Ep. iii. 74; Eadm. 65.

^d Eadm. 66-7; Rémusat, 336.

him back, if the archbishop would do as his predecessors had done to the crown. Anselm considered this as forbidding his return, unless he would agree to terms which the late Roman canons had rendered impossible; and he wrote from Lyons to warn the king that on him must be the guilt of any mischiefs which might follow.^e

Henry committed the property of the archbishoprick to the care of two of Anselm's retainers, who, according to a hint of Edmer, did not exercise their stewardship very faithfully.^f He repeatedly desired the primate to return, but without offering any mitigation of his conditions.^g Letters were addressed to Anselm by some of the clergy, urging him to redress the disorders of the church; his answer was that he could not return unless the king would make concessions.^h He attempted by frequent messages to urge the pope to a more decided course; but, although he prevailed on Paschal to excommunicate the Norman counsellors who had maintained the principle of investiture, and the ecclesiastics who accepted it, no sentence was uttered against the king himself.ⁱ At length Anselm resolved to take further steps on his own responsibility. In the spring of 1105, he visited Henry's sister, the countess of Blois, and told her that he was about to excommunicate the king. The information alarmed her, as such a sentence might have dangerous effects, while Henry was at war with his brother Robert, and his subjects were discontented on account of its cost. By her mediation the king and the archbishop met at the castle of L'Aigle in Normandy on the eve of St. Mary Magdalene (July 21).^k But although Henry was willing to give up the revenues of Canterbury, the question of homage and investiture was still a bar to reconciliation; and a fresh reference to Rome was necessary.^m

Many of the English clergy had taken advantage of the primate's absence to defy the late canons as to celibacy, and Henry conceived the idea of turning their irregularities to profit by imposing a fine on them. As, however, the produce of this measure fell short of his expectations and of his necessities, he proceeded to levy a fine on every parish-church, holding the incumbents

^e Ep. iii. 88; iv. 46; Eadm. 68.

^f Eadm. 69.

^g E. g. Ep. iii. 94, and the answer, 96; Eadm. 70.

^h Ep. iii. 96; Eadm. 69. Dr. Lapenberg censures Anselm for remaining in learned ease at Lyons, and throwing on Henry the blame of forbidding his return (ii. 254). But it appears that the

king justified the speech of William of Warelwast, and the interpretation which the archbishop put on it, although the prohibition was not generally known in England. Eadm. 69, 71; Inett, ii. 114; Rénusat, 337.

ⁱ Eadm. 70.

^k Ep. iii. 110; Eadm. 71.

^m Ep. iii. 110; iv. 73.

answerable for the payment. It was in vain that two hundred of the clergy, arrayed in their robes of ministration, waited on him with a petition for relief; and Anselm found himself obliged to address to him a remonstrance against his usurpation of ecclesiastical discipline.ⁿ The primate received fresh letters, detailing the increased disorders of the church, and earnestly entreating him to return. Gerard of York, and other prelates who had formerly been his opponents, now wrote to acknowledge their error, and professed themselves ready not only to follow but to go before him in the endeavour to heal the wounds of the church.^o

At length William of Warelwast and Baldwin returned from Rome with the proposal of a compromise—that the king should forego investiture, but that, until he should come to a better mind, bishops and abbots should be permitted to do homage, while those who had been invested by him were to be admitted to communion on such terms as the two envoys should agree on.^p These conditions were ratified at Bec on the 25th of August, 1106, when the king promised to restore to Anselm the profits of the see during his absence, to abstain from the revenues of vacant bishopricks and abbeys, and to remit all fines to the clergy.^q The victory over Robert at Tenchebray, on the 28th of September, was regarded by many as a blessing on the peace concluded with the church.^r

Anselm was received in England with enthusiasm. The queen, “Maud the Good,” who had always regarded him with the highest reverence and had corresponded with him in his exile, went before him from stage to stage, to direct the preparations for his entertainment.^s He soon after joined with the archbishop of York in consecrating five bishops, among whom were his old antagonist Warelwast, and the two who had refused to be consecrated in his absence.^t

A council was held at Westminster in 1107, when the king formally relinquished the privilege of investiture, and the archbishop promised to tolerate the ceremony of homage, notwithstanding the condemnation which Urban had pronounced against it.^u The king had conceded, and Anselm was congratulated by his correspondents as victorious; yet in truth Henry, by giving up an indifferent ceremonial, was able to retain the old relations of the crown with the hierarchy, and even the nomination of bishops.^x

ⁿ Ep. iii. 109; Eadm. 71-3.

^o Ep. iii. 121; Eadm. 71-3.

^p Ep. iii. 114; Eadm. 74.

^q Eadm. 75.

^r Ib. 76.

^s Ib.

^t Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1107.

^u Eadm. 76; Wilkins, iii. 386-7.

^x Planck, iv. 23; Lingard, ii. 17-8;

At this council, and at one held in the following year, the canons against the marriage of ecclesiastics were renewed with great strictness; but the pope consented for a time that the sons of clergymen might be admitted to orders, on the remarkable ground that "almost the greater and the better part of the English clergy" were derived from this class.^y

During the short remainder of his life, Anselm enjoyed the friendship and respect of Henry. Notwithstanding his growing infirmity, he continued to write on theological and philosophical subjects; on his death-bed he expressed a wish that he might be permitted to live until he had solved a question as to the origin of the soul—because he feared that no other person would be able to give a right solution. After his death, which took place in April 1099,^z the primacy was allowed to remain vacant until 1114, when it was conferred on Ralph, bishop of Rochester, who had administered its affairs during the interval.^a

Rémusat, 367-370. Anselm soon after wrote to the pope—"Rex ipse in personis eligendis nullatenus propria utitur voluntate, sed religiosorum se penitus committit consilio." Hence Inett (ii. 122), Mr. Church (220-1), and Mr. Martineau (309) suppose that the king vir-

tually gave up his patronage. But the meaning seems merely to be that he took advice as to the fitness of his nominees. See Hasse, *Transl.* 194.

^y Eadm. 76.

^z Id. 25-6.

^a Id. 86.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. TO THE CONCORDAT
OF WORMS.

A.D. 1106-1122.

So long as his father lived, Henry V. had been unmeasured in his professions of obedience to the Roman see; and, now that the elder emperor was removed, the pope supposed that he might make sure of compliance with the claims so long advanced on behalf of the church. In October 1106, he held a council at Guastalla, which renewed the decrees against lay investiture; while, with a view to the restoration of peace, it was provided that such bishops and clergy of the imperialist party as had received ordination from schismatics, should, unless guilty of simony or usurpation, be suffered to retain their preferments.^a Before the opening of the council, envoys had arrived from Henry, requesting the papal confirmation of his title,^b and inviting the pope to spend the Christmas season with him at Augsburg. The message appeared to promise the fulfilment of all Paschal's wishes; but, as he proceeded towards Germany, some expressions reached him which suggested a suspicion as to Henry's designs, and induced him to turn aside into France, in the hope of engaging Philip and his son Louis, who for some years had been associated in the kingdom,^c to take part with him against the German sovereign.^d He was, however, unable to obtain anything beyond vague promises,^e and was to pay severely for the encouragement which he had given to Henry's rebellion against his father. The new king was bent on recovering all the authority which his crown had lost or risked in the contests of the preceding years, and for this purpose he was ready to employ all the resources of a character bold, crafty, persevering, and utterly unprincipled.^f

^a Hard, vi. 1883; Ekkehard, 240.^b "... ut ius sibi regni
Concedat."—*Donizo*, ii. 1091-2.

Luden supposes this to mean a demand of the right of investiture; but he infers too much from an expression dictated by the necessities of verse, and his view

altogether is too subtle. ix. 352, 657.

^c It is uncertain whether since 1099 or 1101. Sismondi, v. 11.^d Ekkehard, 241; Planck, iv. 264.^e Suger, ap. Bouquet, xii. 19.^f Stenzel, i. 612, 720.

In April 1107, a conference was held at Châlons on the Marne between the pope and some ambassadors of Henry, headed by Bruno, archbishop of Treves; and Welf, duke of Bavaria. The king had now thrown off all disguise, investing bishops and compelling the prelates of Germany to consecrate them.^g The envoys, with a confident air, demanded that the right of investiture should be acknowledged. Welf, the nominal husband of Matilda, a large, burly, noisy man, who always appeared with a sword carried before him, seemed, it is said, as if he rather intended to frighten the pope than to discuss.^h The archbishop of Treves, with much skill, contended that from the time of Gregory the Great it had been customary that the vacancy of a bishopric should be notified to the sovereign, and that his leave to elect a successor should be obtained; after which the new bishop was to be chosen by the clergy and people,ⁱ and invested by the sovereign with ring and staff.^k The bishop of Piacenza replied, on the part of the pope, that this reduced the church to a handmaid, and annulled the effect of the Redeemer's blood—a protest strangely inconsistent with the terms which Paschal had lately granted to Henry of England.^m The envoys gnashed their teeth, and declared that they would waste no more words; that the question must be determined at Rome and with the sword.ⁿ A few weeks later a council was held at Troyes, where the pope condemned simony and investitures, but Henry's representatives declared that their master would not be bound by the judgment of a synod assembled in a foreign kingdom.^o

It was not until 1110 that the internal troubles of Germany, and the wars with his neighbours of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, allowed Henry to attempt the fulfilment of his threat. He then, after having concluded a treaty of marriage with Matilda of England, crossed the Alps at the head of 30,000 cavalry, with a great number of infantry and other followers; and for the purposes of controversial war he was attended by a body of learned men, while a chaplain, named David, a Scotsman by birth and afterwards bishop of Bangor, was charged with the task of writing the history of the expedition.^p The cities of Italy, which had shown

^g Luden, ix. 356.

^h Suger, Vit. Ludov. Grossi, c. 9.

ⁱ "Petitione populi, electione cleri."

^k Suger places the investiture *after* consecration (Bouq. xii. 20); but as the real course of proceeding was opposite, Stenzel (i. 613) and Luden (ix. 628) think that the mistake must lie with

him rather than with the prelate whose speech he reports.

^m Gieseler, II. ii. 54.

ⁿ Suger, ap. Bouq. xii. 20.

^o Stenzel, i. 616.

^p Ekkehard, 243; Order. Vital. iv. 7; W. Malmesb. 655-6.

an insubordinate spirit, submitted, with the exception of Novara and Arezzo, which paid dearly for their resistance.^q Even the countess Matilda did homage by proxy for the fiefs which she held under the crown, and promised to support the king against all men except the pope.^r Paschal, who in the two preceding years had sent forth fresh denunciations of investiture as a sacrilege, had engaged the Normans by a special promise to assist him; but, dispirited as they now were by the recent deaths of their leaders Roger of Apulia and Bohemund, they were altogether unable to cope with so overwhelming a force. They answered the pope's supplications with excuses, and were even afraid lest they should be driven out of their Italian conquests.^s From Arezzo Henry sent envoys to the pope, requiring him to bestow on him the imperial crown and to allow the right of investiture. In answer he received a startling proposal of a compromise—that, in consideration of his relinquishing investiture, the bishops and abbots should resign all the endowments and secular privileges which they had received from his predecessors since Charlemagne, and on which the royal claim was founded.^t The pope expressed an opinion that, as the corruptions of the clergy had chiefly arisen from the secular business in which these privileges had involved them, they would, if relieved of them, be able to perform their spiritual duties better; while he trusted for their maintenance to the oblations of the faithful, and to such possessions as they had acquired from private bounty or by purchase. The sincerity of this offer, so prodigiously favourable to the king, has been questioned,^u but apparently without reason, although it is difficult to imagine how the pope could have expected to obtain the consent of those whose interests were chiefly implicated.^x Henry foresaw their opposition—more especially as the pope, instead of employing clerical commissioners, had entrusted the proposal to a layman, Peter, the son of a convert from Judaism named Leo;^y and at Sutri he accepted the terms on condition that the cession of the

^q Ekkeh. 244; Donizo, ii. 18.

^r Donizo, ii. 1160-4.

^s Chron. Casin. iv. 40; Schröckh, xxvi. 47; Stenzel, 632.

^t "Civitates, ducatus, marchias, comitatus, monetas, telonium, mercatum, advocatias regni, jura centurionum, et curtes quæ regni erant, cum pertinentiis suis, militiam et castra." Pertz, Leges, ii. 67.

^u As by Planck, iv. 273.

^x See Schröckh, xxvi. 49; Gieseler, II. ii. 55, who considers that Urban had prepared the way for it by the 11th canon of Melfi, A.D. 1090:—"Quod si forte clericorum aliquis cujuslibet laici possessionibus usus fuerit, aut vicarium, qui debitum reddat, inveniat, aut possessione cedat, ne gravamen ecclesie inferatur."

^y Luden, ix. 388.

"royalties" should be ratified by the bishops and the church. The engagements were to be exchanged at the imperial coronation, which the pope was to perform at Rome.²

Henry reached the city on the 12th of February, 1111, and was received with great magnificence. At St. Peter's, as if to throw all the odium of the proposed arrangement on the pope, he declared that it was not his wish to deprive the clergy of anything which his predecessors had given them. The German and Lombard prelates broke out violently against the pope, whom they charged with sacrificing their rights while he had taken care to secure his own lordship not only over the patrimony of St. Peter, but over Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. The princes, alarmed at the prospect of losing the fiefs which they held under the church, were furious. Long conferences and delays took place. The king said that, as the pope could not fulfil his part of the compact, it must be given up, and required to be crowned at once. A German started forth and told the pope that there was no need of further words; they would have their master crowned like Pipin, Charlemagne, and Louis. The day had worn away, and, as night was coming on, Henry, by advice of his chaplain Adalbert, seized the pope and cardinals, with a number of clergy and others, and the palaces of the high ecclesiastics were plundered by the soldiery.³ Immediately Rome was in an uproar; the people murdered such of the Germans as were found straggling about the streets; and on the next day bloody fights took place. Henry himself, after having slain five Romans with his lance, was unhorsed and wounded in the face; a Milanese noble, who gave up his horse to him, was torn in pieces, and his flesh was cast to dogs.⁴ Exasperated by these scenes, the emperor carried off the pope and cardinals, and for sixty-one days kept them prisoners in the castles of the neighbourhood, while the country was fearfully devastated by the German troops. Henry was master only of the Transtiberine quarter; the rest of Rome was held out by the inhabitants, whom John, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, animated to resistance by the offer of forgiveness for all their sins.⁵ By some it is said that the pope was treated with personal respect; by others, that he was stripped of his robes, chained, and threatened with death unless he would comply with Henry's desires.⁶ It was in vain that the emperor endeavoured to

² Ekkech. 244; Sigeib. Gemblac. 373. ap. Murat. V.

³ Chron. Casin. iv. 38; Pertz, Leges,

⁴ Luden, ix. 394-8.

ii. 65, seqq.; Otho Frising. vii. 14.

⁵ Chron. Casin. iv. 39-40; Planck,

⁶ Chron. Casin. iv. 39; Card. de Aragon. 361-2; Landulph. jun. c. 18,

iv. 278; Stenzel, i. 641.

bend him by representing that, in granting the right of investiture, he would not bestow offices or churches, but only royal privileges.^e But the cardinals who were with him urged also that investiture was a mere external ceremony; the Romans, distressed by the ravages of the troops, and dreading the capture of their city, earnestly entreated him to make peace; and at last he yielded, declaring that for the deliverance of the church and of his people he made a sacrifice which he would not have made to save his own life. He swore, with thirteen cardinals, to allow investiture by ring and staff, after a free election and as a necessary preliminary to consecration; never to trouble the king either on this subject or as to his late treatment of him; and never to excommunicate him.^f Henry released his prisoners, and on the 13th of April was crowned emperor in St. Peter's—the gates of the Leonine city being shut from an apprehension of tumults. The pope was reluctantly obliged during the ceremony to deliver to the emperor with his own hand a copy of his engagement, as evidence that he adhered to it after the recovery of his liberty. At the celebration of the Eucharist, he divided the host into two parts, of which he took one, and administered the other to Henry, with a prayer that, as that portion of the life-giving Body was divided, so whosoever should attempt to break the compact might be divided from the kingdom of Christ and of God.^g The courtly historiographer David found a precedent for his master's treatment of the pope in Jacob's struggle with the angel, and in the speech "I will not let thee go except thou bless me."^h

The emperor returned to Germany in triumph, and on the way spent three days with the Countess Matilda, whom he treated with high respect and appointed governor of Lombardy.ⁱ He signalled his victory by nominating and investing his chaplain Adalbert to the archbishoprick of Mentz;^k and he proceeded to celebrate the funeral of his father. Urged by the general feeling of the Germans, he had endeavoured at Sutri to obtain the pope's consent to the interment; but Paschal refused on the ground that it was contrary to Scripture, and that the martyrs had cast out the bodies of the wicked from their churches.^m The pope, however,

^e Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 71.

^f Pasch. Ep. 24; Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 71-2; Chron. Casin. iv. 40.

^g Chron. Casin. iv. 40; Card. de Aragon. 363.

^h Ekkehard, 244; W. Mahnesb. 655-6. The work of David, which these writers used, has never been printed,

and is generally spoken of as lost, although I have somewhere read that it is supposed to exist in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

ⁱ Donizo, ii. 1250-9.

^k Planck, 280.

^m Chron. Casin. iv. 36.

afterwards found it convenient to believe an assertion of the late emperor's repentance; and the body which for five years had been excluded from Christian burial was now laid in Aug. 1111. the cathedral of Spire with a magnificence unexampled in the funeral of any former emperor.ⁿ

No sooner had the terror of Henry's presence been removed from Italy than voices were loudly raised against the pope's late compliances. The Hildebrandine party, headed by Bruno, bishop of Segni and abbot of Monte Cassino, reproached him with a betrayal of the church, and urged him to recall his unworthy act; at an assembly held in his absence they renewed the decrees of his predecessors against investiture, and declared the compact with the emperor to be void. The feeble pleas which Paschal advanced, in conjunction with the cardinals who had been his fellow prisoners, were disallowed, and in a letter to the cardinal bishops of Tusculum and Velletri, who, as they had escaped captivity, were conspicuous in the agitation against him, he promised to amend what he had done.^o An envoy whom he sent into Germany to request that Henry would give up investitures, returned, as might have been expected, without success;^p and at the Lateran synod of 1112 the pope found himself obliged to condemn his own engagement, to which he said that he had consented under constraint, and solely for the peace of the church. He asked the advice of the prelates as to the means of retrieving his error. They loudly declared the compact to be condemned and annulled, as contrary to the Holy Ghost, and to the laws of the church; but even this was not enough for the more zealous members of the assembly, who urged Paschal to annul it by his own authority.^q It seemed as if the papacy were to be set up against the pope. Paschal, in the hope of weakening Bruno's influence, obliged him to resign the great abbacy which he held in conjunction with his see;^r but such were the strength and the clamour of the party that the pope thought of hiding his shame in a hermitage, and withdrew for a time to the island of the Tiber, from which he only returned to resume his office at the urgent entreaty of the cardinals.^s While

ⁿ Ekkeh. 245; Stenzel, 652.

^o Ep. 23. The right reading is said to be *Vellitrensem* (Card. Aragon. 363), not *Vercellensem*. Stenzel says that, as Velletri was then joined with Ostia, the bishop was Leo, the author of the earlier *Chronicles of Monte Cassino* (648). Ekkehard, 246.

^p Stenzel, 648.

^q Hard. 1899-1902. Godfrey of Viterbo says that the pope stripped off his insignia, and that the council, after having burnt the obnoxious writing, desired him to resume them. Ap. Baron. 1112, 11.

^r Chron. Casin. iv. 42.

^s Neander, vii. 193; Stenzel, 647.

thus urged on one side by the high ecclesiastical party, he had to resist, on the other side, the desire which the king of England and other princes expressed for the same privileges which he had granted to the emperor.^t

Paschal was determined to observe his engagement not to excommunicate Henry, although he complained that the emperor had not been equally scrupulous;^u and on this head he withstood all importunities. But Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who in the end of 1111 had obtained from him a letter annulling the compact,^x and had since attended the Lateran synod, drew him into an extraordinary proceeding. At a council held at Vienne, within Henry's own kingdom of Burgundy, in September 1112, the archbishop declared investiture to be a heresy, renewed the Lateran condemnation of the compact, and anathematised the emperor for extorting it and for his other outrages against the pope. He then wrote to Paschal, asking him to confirm the decrees, and announcing that, in case of his refusal, the members of the synod must withdraw their obedience from him.^y Thus pressed, the unfortunate pope answered by granting the required confirmation; yet, while, by this sanction, he made the excommunication his own, he considered that, so long as he did not directly pronounce it, he was not guilty of violating his oath.^z

In the mean time Germany was a scene of great agitation. Henry, as if the cession proposed at Sutri had taken effect, seized on the revenues of many churches and monasteries, and excited the general detestation of the clergy.^a Conon, a cardinal and legate, who was at Jerusalem when he heard of the pope's captivity,

immediately pronounced an anathema against the emperor, which he repeated in many cities of Greece, Hungary, Germany, and France.^b The new primate Adalbert, the creature of Henry and the adviser of the pope's imprisonment, turned against his master on pretence of his being excommuni-

cate, and craftily endeavoured to undermine him. The emperor imprisoned him on a charge of treason, but,

^t Gieseler, II. ii. 59. At an earlier time Anselm had written to him, asking whether it were true that he allowed the king of Germany to invest; and telling him that, if so, the king of England intended to resume the practice. (Ep. iii. 152.) The pope replied, on Oct. 12, 1008, "We neither have tolerated nor ever will tolerate it. We are waiting until the ferocity of that nation be sub-

dued; but if the king continue in the path of his father's wickedness, he shall without doubt feel the sword of St. Peter, which we have already begun to draw." lb. 153.

^u Hard. vi. 1900.

^x Ep. 24.

^y Hard. vi. 1913-4.

^z lb. 1915.

^a Stenzel, 658, 660; Gieseler, II. ii. 58.

^b Hard. vi. 1899, 1925-30.

after having kept him in confinement nearly three years, was obliged to give him up to the citizens of Mentz, when Oct. 1115. Adalbert's miserable appearance bore witness to the sufferings and privations which he had endured, and excited general indignation. The archbishop was bent on vengeance; although he had sworn and had given hostages to answer to a charge of treason, he cast off the obligation, and became the soul of the anti-imperialist party.^c Germany was distracted by a civil war, and such was the exasperation of feeling that when, in 1115, the emperor was defeated at Welfesholz, the bishop of Halberstadt refused to allow the burial of his fallen soldiers, on the pretext that they had fought for an excommunicate person.^d

In 1116 Henry again crossed the Alps, in order to take possession of the inheritance of Matilda, who had died in the preceding summer, and to counteract some negotiations which aimed at the recognition of Alexius Comnenus or a prince of his family as emperor of Rome.^e His appearance put an end to this scheme, and he seized on all that had belonged to the Great Countess—on the fiefs in his character of suzerain, and on the allodial territories as heir,^f while the pope did not even raise a protest in behalf of the donations by which her possessions had been twice bestowed on the Roman see.^g

While the emperor was at Venice, in March 1116, Paschal held a council in the Lateran,^h at which he desired the bishops to join with him in condemning the compact which he had executed while Henry's prisoner. On this Bruno of Segui burst forth into triumph at the pope's having with his own mouth condemned his heretical act. "If it contained heresy," exclaimed a member of the council, "then the author of it is a heretic." But cardinal John of Gaeta and others of the more moderate party reproved Bruno for the indecency of his speech, and declared that, although blameable, the writing was not heretical. Conon detailed the

^c Ekkehard, 246; Otho Frising. vii. 14. Schmidt calls Adalbert the Becket of Germany, ii. 365.

^d Ekkehard, 252.

^e Chron. Casin. iv. 46 (A.D. 1112).

^f His pretensions to this character were very questionable. Luden, ix. 456.

^g Schröckh, xxvi. 65-7. The later donation, of 1102, is in Muratori, v. 384. It has been a question whether Matilda meant to make over her fiefs as well as her other territories to St. Peter. In strictness, they lapsed to the suzerain on her death; but the notions of the

age on such matters were very loose. (Stenzel, 668; Luden, ix. 455-8; Gieseler, II. ii. 60.) Sismondi contends that she did not give her dominions to the pope in sovereignty, but only *jure proprietario*, (Rep. Ital. i. 139.) But, if so, where was the sovereignty of her independent estates to be?

^h One of the subjects was a contest for the see of Milan between Grosolanus and Jordan, in which Grosolanus, whose claim was evidently the better, was set aside. See Landulph. jun. ap. Murat. v.; Milman, iii. 299.

anathemas which he had pronounced against the emperor from Jerusalem to France, and asked the approbation of the pope and of the council, which was granted.ⁱ

On his way to Rome Henry made overtures to the pope—partly in consequence of the impression produced by a dreadful earthquake which took place at the time.^k Paschal replied that he would himself observe his oath not to excommunicate the emperor; that he had not authorised the excommunications which Conon and another legate had pronounced in Germany; but that decrees passed by the most important members of the Church could not be annulled without their consent, and that the only means of remedy was a general council.^m At the emperor's approach, he took refuge at Monte Cassino.ⁿ

Henry arrived at Rome in March 1117. The people received him with acclamations, but the cardinals and clergy stood aloof, and the attempts to negotiate with them were unsuccessful. At the great ceremonies of Easter, the only dignified ecclesiastic connected with the pope who could be found to place the crown on the emperor's head was Maurice Burdinus or Bourdin, a Limousin by birth and archbishop of Braga in Portugal, who had formerly been employed by Paschal on a mission to the German court.^o For this act Burdinus was deposed and excommunicated by the pope in a synod at Benevento.^p

The Romans were discontented with Paschal on account of an appointment to the prefecture of the city, and on his return, after Henry's departure, they refused to admit him. He was only able to get possession of the castle of St. Angelo, where he died on the 21st of January, 1118.^q

The cardinals chose as his successor one of their own number, Jan. 24, the deacon John of Gaeta, who had been chancellor of 1118. Rome since the pontificate of Urban.^r But as the new pope, who took the name of Gelasius II., was receiving homage in the church of a monastery near the Lateran, Cencius Frangipani, one of the most powerful among the Roman nobles, broke in with a troop of armed followers, seized him by the throat, struck and kicked him, wounding him severely with his spurs, dragged him

ⁱ Ekkehard, A.D. 1116; Hard. vi. 359; Baluze, Miscell. iii. 472-7; Pagi, 1933-6. xviii. 286.

^k Jan. 3, 1117. Dolechin, Ann. 1117, ^p Hard. vi. 1940.

^q Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 476-7; p. 370. Chron. Casin. iv. 60; Pandulph. Pisan.

^m Schröckh, xxvi. 68; Milman, iii. 302. 357.

ⁿ Chron. Casin. iv. 61.

^o Pandulph. Pisan. ap. Murat. iii. 378. ^r Chron. Casin. iv. 64; Pand. Pisan.

away to his own house, and loaded him with chains. The outrage roused the Romans of every party. Frangipani, like the Cencius of Gregory VII.'s time, was compelled to release his prisoner, and to cast himself at his knees with an entreaty for pardon; and Gelasius, mounted on a horse, was escorted in triumph to the Lateran.^s But some weeks after, in the dead of night, the rites of his ordination to the priesthood were interrupted

March 1.

by tidings that the emperor was in Rome, and had possession of St. Peter's. The news of the late pope's death had recalled Henry in haste from the north of Italy, with a view to the exertion of the prerogative which he claimed in appointments to the apostolic chair.^t Gelasius fled, and, after serious dangers both by land and by sea, reached his native city of Gaeta, where the ordination and consecration were completed.^u The

Mar. 9-10.

emperor endeavoured to draw him to a conference; but Gelasius, who had been a companion of Paschal's imprisonment, regarded the proposal as a snare, and suggested that their differences should be discussed in a council at Milan or Cremona, where he had reason to hope that he might be safe.^x The proposal to transfer the important business to these northern cities excited the jealousy of the Romans, to whom Henry caused the pope's letter to be read in St. Peter's; and their spirit was fostered by the celebrated jurist Irnerius of Bologna,^y who urged them to exert their rights in the election of a pope, agreeably to the ancient canons, which were publicly recited from the pulpit. Under the advice of Irnerius and other lawyers, Burdinus was chosen by the people, and confirmed by the emperor, on whose head he again placed the crown at Whitsuntide.^z

March 8.

Gelasius, at a synod at Capua, anathematised the emperor and the antipope, who had assumed the name of Gregory VIII. On returning to Rome, he found the people tur-

April 7.

bulent, and was again attacked by the Frangipanis. He declared that he would leave the bloody city—the new Babylon and Sodom; that he would rather have one emperor than many; and his words were hailed with applause by the cardinals. He made his way into France, where he was received with honour; and, after visiting several of the principal cities, he was about to hold a council

^s Pand. Pisan. 384.

^t Ib.; Stenzel, i. 676.

^u Pand. Pisan. 389; Falco Benev. ap. Murat. v. 91-2; Annal. Rom. 478.

^x Gelas. Ep. 1. ap. Hard. vi.

^y See Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 82.

^z Chron. Casin. iv. 64; Landulph, jun. c. 32; Baluze, Miscell. iii. 490-3; Stenzel, 678.

at Rheims, when he died at the abbey of Cluny on the 29th of January, 1119.^a

Conon of Præneste had been selected by Gelasius as his successor, but had suggested to him that Guy, archbishop of Vienne, should rather be chosen, as more likely, from his character and position, to serve the church effectually.^b Guy was son of a Burgundian duke or count, and was related to the sovereigns of Germany, France, and England. The zeal which he had displayed in the excommunication of the emperor, and the skill for which he was noted in the conduct of affairs, marked him out as a champion to whom the Hildebrandine party might look with confidence and hope.^c He was summoned to Cluny, but did not arrive until after Feb. 2, the death of Gelasius.^d When the papacy was pressed 1119. on him by the cardinals who had accompanied the late pope into France, he declined to accept it unless the Romans should agree in the election; but their consent was readily obtained, and Guy was inaugurated as Calixtus II. in his own cathedral at Vienne.^e

Calixtus spent the spring and the summer of 1119 in France, and on the 20th of October he opened at Rheims the synod which his predecessor had projected. Fifteen archbishops, and more than two hundred bishops, were present; among them was the German primate Adalbert, with his seven suffragans, and a splendid train of three hundred knights.^f There were four bishops from England, whom the king, in giving them permission to attend, had charged not to complain against each other, because he was resolved to do full justice to every complaint within his own kingdom, and had warned not to bring back any "superfluous inventions."^g The pope, although elected by a handful of exiles, appeared in splendid state,^h and in all the fullness of his pretensions. Louis the Fat, who, since 1008, had been sole king of France, brought charges before the council against Henry of England for violations of his feudal duty as duke of Normandy, and for his treatment of his brother Robert; and these charges, relating purely to

^a Pand. Pisan. 397-8, 411-5; Jaffé, 526. Orderic says that the French churches felt severely the cost of entertaining the pope. iv. 312.

^b Falco Benev. ap. Muratori, v. 92.

^c Suger, Vit. Ludov. Grossi, ap. Bouquet, xii. 46; Pand. Pisan. 418; Order. Vital. iv. 335; Chron. Casin. iv. 64; W. Malmesb. 665.

^d Calixt. Ep. 1, ap. Hard. vi.

^e There seems to be some confusion in Pandulf and Card. Aragon (Murat. iii. 418-9), as the interval between the election and the inauguration (Feb. 2-9—Jaffé, 519) allows no time for a reference to the Romans.

^f Order. Vital. iv. 372.

^g Ib. 373.

^h Ib. 374-5.

matters of secular policy, he referred to the pope as arbiter.ⁱ The archbishop of Rouen attempted to justify his sovereign, but was put down by the general disapprobation of the assembly.^k

During the emperor's absence in Italy, Germany had been a prey to anarchy and confusion, and since his return it had been immersed in the horrors of civil war.^m Conon had again appeared, denouncing excommunications against Henry; Adalbert of Mentz stirred up the Saxons, and consecrated bishops in contempt of the imperial claims.ⁿ Henry had made overtures for a reconciliation with the pope, and William of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, with Pontius, abbot of Cluny, had been sent by Calixtus to confer with him at Strasburg. The bishop assured the emperor that he need not so strongly insist on the privilege of investiture, since in France no such ceremony was then used, yet he himself performed the duties of feudal service as faithfully as any German prelate.^o The cases were not indeed parallel; for the French sovereigns had always retained a control over their bishops which rendered their position very unlike that of the great German prelates since the minority of Henry IV. But the emperor professed himself satisfied, and a second commission arranged with him the terms of an accommodation—that he should give up investitures, that bishops should do homage for their royalties, and that he should be released from his excommunication.^p

The pope left Rheims with the intention of meeting the emperor, and sent commissioners before him for the conclusion of the treaty. But the report that Henry had with him a force of 30,000 men raised a feeling of distrust, and Calixtus halted at the castle of Mousson to await the result of the negotiations. A dispute arose between Henry and the commissioners as to the sense of certain articles. The emperor, finding himself strong, was disposed to evade his engagements; he pretended a wish to consult the princes of Germany, and declared that he would not stand barefooted to receive absolution. The commissioners promised to do their utmost that this point might be waived,

Oct. 22-5.

ⁱ Order. Vital. iv. 376-8; Milman, ii. 312. It is to be observed that, according to Orderic, while Louis dwelt strongly on Robert's sufferings, he said nothing of his having been blinded, as many histories represent him to have been.

^k Order. Vital. iv. 378.

^m Stenzel, i. 681-6.

ⁿ Hard. vi. 1947; Ekkehard, 257; Schröckh, xxvi. 83.

^o Hesso, ap. Hard. vi. 1993 (also in Pertz, xii.). Investiture seems to have fallen into disuse under Philip I., as the king did not assert his privilege, and the great vassals, to whom the investitures more commonly belonged, did not act in concert against the Roman prohibitions. Nat. Alex. xiii. 657-9; Sismondi, iv. 54-5.

^p Hesso, 1994.

and that the ceremony should be as private as possible.⁹ But on their reporting the negotiations to the pope, he left Mousson in indignation at Henry's conduct, and returned to Rheims, where he signalled his arrival by consecrating a popularly-elected bishop for Liege, instead of one who had been invested by the emperor.⁷ The council passed the usual canons against investiture, simony, and clerical marriage;⁸ and on the sixth and last day excommunication was denounced in the most solemn manner against Henry, the antipope, and others—each of the bishops and abbots, 427 in number, standing up, with his pastoral staff in one hand, and with a lighted taper in the other. Henry's subjects were declared to be absolved from their allegiance until he should be reconciled to the church.⁶

In fulfilment of an intention which he had announced at the council, the pope proceeded into Normandy, and held an interview with Henry of England at Gisors.¹⁰ One subject of discussion between them related to the employment of legates. Calixtus himself, while archbishop of Vienne, had been sent by Paschal with the character of legate for all England in 1100, within a few months after Anselm's return from his first exile. His visit caused a great excitement; for, although legates had before appeared in this country, it was very rarely, and their authority had been limited to special business, so that an outcry was raised against the new commission as a thing without example, and it was declared that no one but the archbishop of Canterbury could be acknowledged as a representative of the pope.^x Anselm asserted the privilege of his see;^y the legate returned without obtaining a recognition of his power; and the primate procured from the pope, although for his own person only, a promise that no legate should be sent to supersede him.^z At a later time, the independent character of the English church, and its disposition to settle its own affairs without reference to Rome, was complained of by Paschal on the translation of Ralph from Rochester to Canterbury;^a while the king was offended at Conon's having ventured, as papal legate, to excommunicate the Norman bishops for refusing to attend a council. William of Warelwast, now bishop of Exeter, was once more sent to Rome to remonstrate

⁹ Hesso, 1995-6.

⁷ *Ib.* 1997; Stenzel, i. 686.

⁸ *Hard.* vi. 1983-6.

⁶ Hesso, *ib.* 1998.

¹⁰ *Order. Vital.* iv. 332.

^x Eadmer, 59; Lappenberg, ii. 256.

^y *Ep.* iv. 2.

^z Lappenberg, ii. 257.

^a *Pasch. Ep. ad Henric. ap. Eadmer*, 89; Inett, ii. 132-4.

against Copon's proceedings; and the pope despatched a new legate into England—the abbot Anselm, who was chosen as being nephew of the late archbishop, and as being himself known and popular among the English.^b But, although Henry ordered that the legate should be treated with honour in Normandy, he would not permit him to cross the sea, and sent Ralph himself to Rome, to assert the rights of his primacy. The archbishop was prevented by illness from following the pope, who had withdrawn to Benevento; but he returned with a general and vague confirmation of the privileges of Canterbury.^c

Another question related to the pretensions of the see of York. Anselm, in the beginning of the reign, had exacted from Gerard, on his translation to the northern archbishoprick, a promise of the same subjection to Canterbury which he had sworn when consecrated as bishop of Hereford.^d The next archbishop of York, Thomas, renewed the pretensions which his predecessor of the same name had raised in opposition to Lanfranc;^e but the measures which Anselm took to defeat him were successful, although after the primate's death.^f Thurstan, who was nominated A.D. 1009. to York in 1114, declined to receive consecration at Canterbury, from an unwillingness to swear subjection to the archbishop; and, in violation both of his own solemn promise and of assurances which the pope had given to Henry, he contrived to get himself consecrated by Calixtus at Rheims, before the arrival of the bishop who was especially charged to prevent his consecration, although the English bishops who were present protested against it.^g

The pope was easily satisfied with the explanations which Henry gave of his behaviour towards Robert and the king of France.^h He promised that no legate should be sent into England except at the king's request, and for the settlement of such things as could not be settled by the English bishops;ⁱ and he requested that Thurstan might be allowed to return to England. The king replied that he had sworn to the contrary. "I am apostolic pontiff," said Calixtus, and offered to release him from the oath; but Henry, after consideration, declined to avail himself of the absolution, as being unworthy of a king, and an example which

^b Eadmer, 88-9.

^c Pasch. Ep. 30 (Hard. vi. 1795); Eadmer, 91; W. Malmesb. *Gesta Pontif.* 131, b. Wilkins (i. 377, seq.) misdates some documents connected with this affair.

^d Rog. Hoveden, 270.

^e P. 658.

^f Eadmer, 80, seqq.

^g Eadmer, 90, 94; Flor. Vigorn. ii. 73; Rog. Hoveden, 273.

^h W. Malmesb. 635; Order. Vital. iv. 400-4.

ⁱ Eadmer, 94. Lingard (ii. 45) affects to question this compact. But his only ground is that the pope soon broke it.

would tend to produce universal distrust between men; and he refused to readmit Thurstan, except on condition that he should make the same submission to Canterbury which had been made by his predecessors.^k

Having established his authority to the north of the Alps, the pope proceeded into Italy. His rival Burdinus, abandoned by the emperor, fled from Rome at the approach of Calixtus, and took refuge within the walls of Sutri; but he was betrayed into the hands of the pope, and, after having been paraded about Apr. 1121. Rome, mounted on a camel, arrayed in bloody sheepskins,^m by way of a pontifical robe, and holding the camel's tail in his hands, he was thrust into a monastic prison. He lived to an advanced age, but his remaining years were varied only by removals from one place of confinement to another.ⁿ

In the meantime the discords of Germany were unabated. Hostile armies moved about the country—the one commanded by the emperor, the other by the primate, to whom the pope had given a commission as legate;^o and it seemed as if their differences must be decided by bloodshed. But circumstances had arisen which tended to suggest a compromise. The contest of fifty years had exhausted all parties, and a general desire for peace arose. The princes of Germany had come to see how their own interest was affected by the rival pretensions of the papacy and the crown. While desirous to maintain themselves against the emperor, and to secure what they had won for their order, they had no wish to subject him, and consequently themselves, to the pope—to degrade their nationality, to lose all hold on the offices and endowments of the church. Thus patriotic and selfish motives concurred in rendering the leaders of the laity desirous to find some means of accommodation.^p And from France, where the difficulty as to investiture had not been felt, persuasives to moderation were heard. There Ives of Chartres had throughout maintained the lawfulness of investiture by laymen provided that it were preceded by a canonical election. He held that the form of the ceremony was indifferent, inasmuch as the lay lord did not pretend to confer any gift of a

^k Eadmer, 95; Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1119, ap. Twysden, 242. Thurstan was afterwards allowed to return, on condition that, until he should have satisfied the claims of Canterbury, he should not officiate beyond his diocese. Eadm. 101.

^m So Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 479; Card. de Arag. 420; *goatskins*—Suger,

Vit. Lud. Grossi, ap. Bouquet, xii. 46; *a bearskin*, Will. Tyr. ap. Baluz. Misc. iii. 510; *a hogskin*, Milman, iii. 318.

ⁿ Chron. Casin. iv. 68, 86; Baluze, 513.

^o Baron, 1121. 6.

^p Planck, iv. 310; Stenzel, i. 688, 701.

spiritual kind; that, although it was schismatical and heretical to maintain the necessity of lay investiture, yet such investiture was in itself no heresy.^a Ives strongly reprobated the agitation excited by the Hildebrandine party against Paschal, and he was able to persuade the archbishop of Sens, with other prelates, to join him in a formal protest against the councils which took it on themselves to censure the pope.^b Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, Hugh, abbot of Fleury, and other eminent ecclesiastics gave utterance to somewhat similar views;^c and at length abbot Godfrey of Vendôme,—who had been long known as one of the most uncompromising assertors of the ecclesiastical claims, and had published two tracts in which he declared lay investiture to be heresy^d—sent forth a third tract, composed in an unexpected spirit of conciliation. Laymen, he said, may not confer the staff and the ring, since these are for the church to give; but there are two kinds of investiture—the one, which makes a bishop, the other, which maintains him. Princes, therefore, may without offence give investiture to the temporalities by some sign, after canonical election and consecration. He speaks strongly against the mischief of contentiousness on either side, and (in direct contradiction to the Hildebrandine principle that kings ought to be treated by the church as freely as other men) he quotes St. Augustine's opinion that one ought seldom or never to be excommunicated who is backed by an obstinate multitude, "lest, while we strive to correct one, it become the ruin of many."^e

The effect of such writings was widely felt, and contributed to swell the general eagerness for peace. As the hostile armies of the Germans were encamped in the neighbourhood of Würzburg, negotiations were opened between them. The preliminaries were settled in October 1121; a formal compact was then drawn up by commissioners at Mentz; and on the 23rd of September 1122, the terms of the concordat between the empire and the hierarchy were read before a vast multitude assembled in a meadow near Worms.^f On the pope's part, it was stipulated that in Germany the elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the king, without simony or violence; if any discord should arise, the king,

^a Ivo, ap. Baron. 1099. 9 (Pagi dates this letter in 1097, xviii. 97); 1111. 34-42.

^b Hard. vi. 1915-9. Ives died in 1117, Pagi, xviii. 291.

^c Neander, vii. 187; Gieseler, II. i. 50.

^d Opuscula ii.-iii.; Bibl. Patr. xxi.

59, seqq. The ring and staff, he says, when given by those who are entitled to give them, are sacraments; therefore the giving of them, by laymen is heretical.

^e Opusc. iv. *ibid.* See above, p. 603.

^f Ekkehard, 260; Stenzel, i. 706.

by the advice of the metropolitan and his suffragans, was to support the party who should be in the right. The bishop *elect* was to receive the temporalities of his see by the sceptre, and was bound to perform all the duties attached to them. In other parts of the emperor's dominions, the bishop was, within six months after *consecration*, to receive the temporalities from the sovereign by the sceptre without any payment, and was to perform the duties belonging to them.^y The emperor, on his part, gave up all investiture by ring and staff, and engaged to allow free election and consecration throughout his dominions; he restored to the Roman church all possessions and royalties which had been taken from it since the beginning of his father's reign, and undertook to assist towards the recovery of such as were not in his own hands.^z These conditions were solemnly exchanged at Worms; the legate, Lambert of Ostia, celebrated mass, and gave the kiss of peace to the emperor;^a and in the following year, the concordat of Worms March, 1123, was ratified by the first council of Lateran, which in the Roman church is reckoned as the Ninth General Council. The contest which for half a century had agitated Italy and Germany, was ended.

The apparent simplicity of the solution—although, indeed, its terms contained the seeds of future differences as to their interpretation^c—strikes us with surprise, as contrasted with the length and the bitterness of the struggle. But in truth circumstances had disposed both parties to welcome a solution which at an earlier time would have been rejected. The question of investitures had on Gregory's part been a disguise for the desire to establish a domination over temporal sovereigns; on the part of the emperors, it had meant the right to dispose of ecclesiastical dignities and to exercise a control over the hierarchy. Each party had now learnt that its object was not to be attained; but it was not until this experience had reduced the real question within the bounds of its apparent dimensions that any accommodation was possible.^d

The emperor ceded the power of nomination to bishopricks, and, as to those which were beyond the limits of Germany, he appears to have given up all control over the appointments. But in Germany it was otherwise. The claim of nomination, which had never been defended on grounds of law, was now acknowledged to be

^y Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 75.

^c See Luden, ix. 527.

^z *Ib.* 76.

^a Ekkehard, 260.

^d Stenzel, i. 289-290; Milman, iii.

^b Hard. VI. ii. 1115-6; or Pertz, 321.

Leges, ii.

unlawful; but the provision that bishops should be chosen in the presence of the emperor or of his commissioners allowed the exercise of an important influence in the choice; so that, in respect of law, the imperial prerogative was rather increased than lessened. And as, in the case of German bishops, the investiture was to precede consecration,^e there was thus an opportunity of interposing a bar to the promotion of any person unacceptable to the sovereign. The right of exacting homage was unquestioned; and, by a mere change in the outward symbol, the emperor secured the substance of the investiture—that the bishops should be his vassals, not the pope's; that they should be subject to the feudal obligations, and that the connexion of the church with the state should be maintained.^f

On the part of the pope, the concordat appears to be a serious sacrifice. Urged by the representations of the German estates, both lay and ecclesiastical, who told him that, if peace were not made, the responsibility would rest on him,^g he had ceded the pretensions of Gregory and Urban as to investitures and homage; the condition on which Godfrey of Vendôme had insisted in his conciliatory proposals—that consecration should precede investiture—was relinquished as to German bishopricks; and the party of which Calixtus had been the foremost representative was deeply dissatisfied with the terms of the compromise.^h But his consent to these terms is to be explained by the change which had taken place in the position of the papacy since Hildebrand entered on his career. The imperial claim to control elections to St. Peter's chair was abandoned;ⁱ whereas Henry III. had aimed at making himself master of the hierarchy, his son and his grandson had found it a sufficient labour to defend themselves against its encroachments.^k The bold assertions of Gregory, continued by his successors, and, above all, the great movement of the crusades, had raised the pope to a height before unknown; and, when on the whole his substantial gain had been so great, he could afford to yield in appearance and in matters of detail.^m

^e This appears from the opposition between *electus* in the case of German bishops, and *consecratus* in that of others.

^f Schmidt, ii. 505; Planck, iv. 300-2; Schröckh, xxvi. 88-90; Hallam, M. A. i. 544-5, Suppl. Notes, 195; Raumer,

i. 318-9; Döllinger, ii. 167; Stenzel, i. 705-9.

^g Planck, iv. 365.

^h Gieseler, II. ii. 65.

ⁱ Stenzel, i. 709.

^k Luden, ix. 496.

^m Planck, iv. 311-3.

CHAPTER VII.

MONASTICISM — NEW ORDERS — THE TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS.

IN the history of Monasticism, decay and reformation are continually alternating. This alternation is a natural result of laying down as a permanent rule for a numerous succession of men the system which has been found to meet the particular circumstances of a few. When the rule has been some time in operation, no profession of vocation will act as a sufficient test for the exclusion of unqualified persons; and, even where there are the same dispositions which originally gave birth to the rule and won popularity for it, the difference of times or circumstances may render it no longer suitable as a discipline for them. Moreover, as the poverty and devotion of monks never failed to bring them wealth and honour, the effect of these was too commonly a temptation to abandon the virtues by which they had been procured.

The spirit which produced the endeavour to reform the church led at the same time to a reform of monachism; and the anarchy, the insecurity, the manifold miseries of the age tended to excite an enthusiasm for the life which promised tranquillity and the opportunities of conversing with a better world.^a Bernold tells us that in the great distractions between the papacy and the empire, multitudes rushed into the monasteries of Germany; that some who had been counts and marquises chose to be employed in the lowest offices, such as baking and cooking; that many, without putting on the monastic habit, devoted themselves to the service of certain monasteries; that many young women renounced marriage, and that the whole population of some towns adopted a monastic system of life.^b

The congregation of Cluny, which had led the way in the re-
A.D. 1049-1109. formation of an earlier period, maintained its pre-eminence under the sixty years' abbacy of Hugh, whose influence in the affairs of the church has often been mentioned in the preceding chapters. The Cluniacs received additions to their privileges: Paschal exempted them from the operation of an interdiction pronounced against any province in which they might be;^c

^a Luden, ix. 190.^b A.D. 1083, 1091, ap. Pertz, v.^c Epp. 66, ap. Hard. vi.

Calixtus, on a visit to the great monastery in 1120, conferred on its abbots the dignity of the Roman cardinalate.^d But under Hugh's successor, Pontius, to whom this privilege was granted, dissensions and scandals arose in the order. Pontius, on finding that he was charged at Rome with dissipating the property of his monastery, hurried to the pope, resigned his office, and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Another Hugh was appointed in his room but died within three months; and the order again chose a head who sustained the greatness of its reputation—Peter Maurice, "the Venerable."^e The Vallombrosan, Camaldolite, and other communities were also still in vigour;^f but the piety of the age was not content with adding to the numbers enrolled under the rules which already existed; and during the fifty years which followed the election of Gregory VII. several new orders took their beginning.

I. The earliest of these was the order of Grammont. The founder, Stephen, son of a count of Thiers, in Auvergne, was born about 1045.^g His parents, who believed him to have been granted to them in return for many prayers and other exercises of devotion, were careful to train him religiously from his infancy, and at the age of twelve he accompanied his father on a pilgrimage into Italy. Stephen fell ill at Benevento, and was left there in the care of the archbishop, Milo, who was his countryman, and perhaps a kinsman.^h The praises which the archbishop bestowed on an ascetic society of monks in Calabria excited the boy to resolve on embracing the monastic life, and he steadily adhered to his resolution.ⁱ After having spent four years at Rome, he obtained, in the first year of Gregory's pontificate, the papal sanction for the formation of a new order—a document in which Gregory bestows on him his blessing, and expresses a wish that he may find companions innumerable as the stars of heaven.^k

Stephen forthwith took up his abode at Muret, near Limoges, where he built himself a hut of branches of trees in a rocky and wooded solitude. Here, putting on a ring, the only article which he had reserved out of his property, he solemnly devoted himself

^d Schröckh, xxvii. 242.

^e Chron. Cluniae. ap. Bouq. xii. 313-5. Pontius attempted to recover the headship by means of an armed force, and died excommunicate. But Orderic, who is partial to him, says that miracles were wrought at his grave (iv. 298-9, 299, 386, 424-7). Comp. Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1122, col. 245; Mabillon, Annales, v. 530; vi. 78; Hist. Litt. xi. 23.

^f Schröckh, xxvii. 241.

^g Pagi, xvii. 402.

^h There are chronological difficulties as to this. Hist. Litt. x. 411-2.

ⁱ Mabill. Annal. v. 65-7.

^k Ap. Mabill. Acta SS. IX. xxxvi. It is not unsuspected. Mab. Annal. v. 66; Hist. Litt. x. 411; Schröckh, xxvii. 298.

to the Holy Trinity and to the Virgin Mother.^m The rigour of his diet was extreme; he wore an iron cuirass, like Dominic of Fonte Avellano, and over it a thin dress which was alike throughout all the changes of the seasons; his bed was formed of two boards sunk in the earth, so that it resembled a grave; his devotional exercises were frequent, and such was his fervour that, while engaged in them, he sometimes forgot food and sleep for days together.ⁿ He always prayed on his knees, and his prayers were accompanied by frequent obeisances, so that not only did his hands and knees become callous like those of a camel, but his nose was bent by the effect of his prostrations.^o

After a year, during which he was known only to the neighbouring shepherds, Stephen was joined by two companions; and the number was soon increased. His disciples were treated with an indulgence which he denied to himself, and he desired them to call him not *abbot* or *master*, but *corrector*. It was believed that he had the power of reading their hearts; tales are related of miracles which he did, and of the wonderful efficacy of his prayers; and a sweet odour was perceived to proceed from his person by those who conversed with him. After having spent fifty years in his retirement, Stephen died in 1124.^p

At his death, the place where he had so long lived unmolested was claimed by a neighbouring body of monks. His disciples, unwilling to engage in any contention, prayed for direction in the choice of another habitation; whereupon the prior and some others heard a heavenly voice pronounce the words—"To Grammont!" The new home thus pointed out was but a league distant, and the society removed to it, carrying with them the relics of their founder. They studiously concealed the spot where the body was deposited; but its presence was betrayed by a great number of miracles. On this the prior addressed the spirit of his former master in a tone of complaint and reproach, threatening that, if Stephen continued to regard his own fame for sanctity so as to turn the solitude of his disciples into a fair, his relics should be thrown into a river. From that time the saint was content to exert his miraculous power in such a manner as not to expose his followers to the distractions which had before endangered their quiet and their humility. In 1189, he was canonised by Clement III.^q

^m Mabill. Annal. v. 99.

ⁿ Ib. 100.

^o Schröckh, xxvii. 301; Hélyot, vii.

^p Mabill. Annal. vi. 116; Schröckh, xxvii. 303.

^q Schröckh, xxvii. 304-5.

In the privilege which Gregory had granted to Stephen, it was supposed that the Benedictine rule would be observed by the new order; but the discipline was more severe than that of Benedict. Stephen professed that his only rule was that of Christian religion,^r and the code of his order was unwritten until the time of his third successor, Stephen of Lisiac (A.D. 1141).^s Obedience and poverty are laid down as the foundations.^t The monks were to accept no payment for Divine offices: they were to possess no churches, and no lands beyond the precincts of their monasteries;^u nor were they allowed to keep any cattle—"for," it is said, "if ye were to possess beasts, ye would love them, and for the love which ye would bestow on beasts, so much of Divine love would be withdrawn from you."^x They were never to go to law for such property as might be bestowed on them.^y The founder assured them on his deathbed that, if they kept themselves from the love of earthly things, God would not fail to provide for them; when reduced to such necessity as to have had no food for two days, they might send out brethren to beg, but these were bound to return as soon as they had secured one day's provision.^z They were to go out in parties of two at least; they were not to fall into company with travellers, and were to avoid castles.^a They must not leave the wilderness to preach; their life there is to be their true sermon.^b Their monasteries must be strictly shut against all but persons of great authority; they are charged altogether to shun intercourse with women.^c Even the sick are forbidden to taste flesh; but they were to be carefully tended, and, rather than that they should lack what they needed, even the ornaments of the church were to be sold.^d The monks were bound to silence at times, and were to communicate by signs, of which a detailed system is laid down;^e and when they spoke, their discourse must be of an edifying kind. The monks were to devote themselves entirely to spiritual things, while their temporal affairs were to be managed by lay brethren.^f

Under Stephen of Lisiac the order of Grandimontans, or "Good men," as they were popularly called,^g became numerous, and eventually it had about 140 *cells*, subject to the *prior* of the

^r Ap. Martene, iv. 308.

^s Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 100. Martene, who prints the rule in his ivth volume, maintains there (306) and in Mabillon, vi. 117, that it was written by the founder.

^t Cc. 1-3.

^u Cc. 4-5.

^x C. 7.

^y C. 13.

^z C. 48.

^a Cc. 56-7.

^b Martene, iv. 339, seqq.

^c C. 54.

^d Mabill. *Annal.* vi. 117.

^e Cc. 23, 31.

^f C. 52.

^g C. 39.

mother community. So long as the austerity of its discipline remained, it enjoyed a high reputation; but the relaxations of its rules, although sanctioned by popes,^b and internal quarrels between the monks and the lay brethren, led to its decline.ⁱ

II. Ten years later than the order of Grammont, that of the Carthusians was founded by Bruno, a native of Cologne, who had been distinguished as master of the cathedral school at Rheims.^k The popular legend ascribes his retirement from the world to a fearful scene which he is said to have witnessed at Paris. A doctor, who was greatly revered for piety as well as for learning, died; when, as the funeral procession was on its way to the grave, his corpse raised itself from the bier, and uttered the words "By God's righteous judgment I am accused!" The rites were suspended for a day; and when they were resumed, the dead man again exclaimed—"By God's righteous judgment I am judged!" Again the completion of the ceremony was deferred; but on the third day the horror of the spectators was raised to a height by his once more lifting up his ghastly head and meaning forth, in a tone of the deepest misery—"By God's righteous judgment I am condemned!" By this Bruno was filled with a sense of the nothingness of human reputation, and resolved, as the only means of safety, to hide himself in the desert.^m

Such was the tale which was adopted by the Carthusian order;ⁿ but the real motives of Bruno's withdrawal appear to have been partly a conviction of the unsatisfying nature of worldly things,^o and partly a wish to escape from the tyranny of Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, a violent, grasping, and ambitious prelate, whose character may be inferred from a saying recorded of him—that "the archbishoprick of Rheims would be a fine thing, if one

^b Especially by Innocent IV., A.D. 1245. See Martene, iv. 327, seqq.

ⁱ Mabill. Acta, IX. xxxv.; Schröckh, xxvii. 306-9.

^k Hist. Litt. ix. 233. That it is a mistake to suppose him a pupil of Berengar, see Mabillon, Acta SS. VIII. iii.; IX. xxxvii.

^m The first appearance of this story is in John of Ypres, towards the end of the xiiith century (Hist. Litt. ix. 236). It afterwards became popular through the mention of it by Gerson, and was expanded and embellished by many writers. At one time it was in the Roman Breviary, but it was expunged at the revision under Urban

VIII. Launoy fully exposes it in his tract, 'De Vera causa Secensus S. Brunonis in Eremum' (Opera, vii. ed. Paris, 1662, 8vo.), where the various forms of it are given. Launoy, however, makes the mistake of saying (90) that the earliest authority for it is Gerson. See Mabillon. Annal. v. 202; Pagi, xvii. 577; Alban Butler, Oct. 6; and, for the history of the controversy, Hélyot, vii. 376; Schröckh, xxvii. 311. There is a metrical version in Monast. Anglie. VI. iv.

ⁿ Hist. Litt. ix. 237.

^o This appears from a letter of his own, ap. Mabill. Annal. v. 202.

had not to sing masses for it." ^p By the advice of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, Bruno with six companions took up his abode among the wild and solemn rocky solitudes of the Chartreuse, from which his order derived its name. ^{a.d. 1084.} Their mode of life was extremely rigid. They wore goatskins next to the flesh. For three days in the week, their food was bread and water; on the other days, they added pulse; the highest luxuries of festivals were cheese and fish; the only greater relaxation as to diet was at the periodical bleedings, five times in the year. They confessed every week, and underwent a weekly flagellation. They spoke only on Sundays and festivals, nor were any except the lay-brethren allowed to relieve their silence by signs. But it was a part of their obedience that no one should impose any extraordinary austerity on himself without the leave of the prior. In the service of their churches, every thing was to be plain and severe; all ornament was forbidden, with the exception of one silver chalice, and a silver pipe for drinking the eucharistic wine. ^r As at Camaldoli, the community consisted of hermits and of cenobites. Notwithstanding their poverty, Gilbert of Nogent found them possessed of a valuable library; and much of their time was devoted to transcription and other literary labours. ^s

After having spent six years at the Chartreuse, Bruno was invited to Rome by Urban II., who had formerly been his pupil at Rheims; ^t but he soon became weary of the city, and, after having refused the bishoprick of Reggio, he founded a second Chartreuse (S. Stefano del Bosco) in the diocese of Squillace, ^u where he died in 1101. ^x The rule of the order was reduced to writing by the fifth prior, Guigo, in 1128; ^y the founder was canonised by Leo X., in 1513. ^z

The rigour of the Carthusians rendered their progress slow; yet the order gradually spread. There were also Carthusian nuns; but the discipline was too severe for the female sex, and in the eighteenth century only five convents professed the rule. ^a Although the Carthusians became wealthy, and built magnificent abbeys,

^p Guibert. Novig. de Vita Sua, i. 11, p. 467, ed. D'Achery, Paris, 1651; Hist. Litt. ix. 236. Manasses figures much in the letters of Gregory VII., by whom he was at length deposed in 1080. Hist. Litt. ix. 655.

^r Mabillon, Annal. v. 203.

^s See Ducange, in voc. *Fistula*.

^t Guibert. Novig. p. 468; Statutes of the Order in Monast. Anglic. VI. v. seqq.; Mabillon, Annal. v. 39. 205;

Schröckh, xxvii. 315-322.

^u Pagi, xvii. 634; Mabillon, Annal. v. 268.

^x It was dedicated in 1094. Mabillon, Annal. v. 293, 342.

^y Ib. 441.

^z Mabill. Acta SS. ix. 39; Hist. Litt. xi. 647.

^a Schröckh, xxvii. 313.

^b Mosh. ii. 360.

they preserved themselves from personal luxury more strictly than any other order; thus they escaped the satire which was profusely lavished on monks in general, and they never needed a reformation.^b

III. The next in time of the new orders was founded by Robert, a native of Arbrissel or Albrêsec, near Rennes.^c Robert was born about 1047, and, after having studied at Paris, where he became a teacher of theology, he accepted in 1086 an invitation to act as vicar to Sylvester, bishop of Rennes, a man of high birth, who, although himself illiterate, respected learning in others.^d Here he for four years exerted himself to enforce the Hildebrandine principles as to celibacy, simony, and emancipation of the Church from lay control; but, after his patron's death, he found it expedient to withdraw from the enmity of the canons, whom he had provoked by his endeavours to reform them.^e For a time he taught theology at Angers, and in 1091 he withdrew to the forest of Craon, on the confines of Anjou and Brittany, where he entered on a course of extraordinary austerity. Disciples and imitators soon gathered around him, and for these, whom he styled "the poor of Christ," he founded in 1094 a society on the principles of the canonical life.^f

Urban, on his visit to France in 1096, sent for Robert, and, being struck with his eloquence, bestowed on him the title of "Apostolical Preacher," with a charge to publish the crusade.^g The zeal with which Robert executed this commission, in cities, villages, and hamlets, was the means of sending many to fight the battles of Christendom in the East; while others were persuaded by his discourse to forsake their homes and attach themselves to him as their master.^h In 1100 he laid the foundation of a great establishment at Fontevraud, in the diocese of Poitiers—then a rough tract, overgrown with thorns and brushwood. His followers were of both sexes; the men were committed to two of his chief disciples, while he himself especially took care of the women.ⁱ From time to time he left Fontevraud for the labours of his office as Apostolical Preacher, which gave him opportunities of making his institutions known, and of founding similar communities in various parts of France. His preaching was addressed with great effect to unhappy

^b Mabill. Annal. v. 205; Schröckh, xvii. 320.

^c Hélyot, vi. 85.

^d Vita Roberti, ap. Bouquet, xiv. 163; Mabillon, Annal. v. 314; Hist. Litt. x. 153.

^e Vita, p. 164.

^f Hélyot, vi. 87; Bayle, art. Fontevraud. t. vi. p. 503.

^g Vita, 164.

^h Schröckh, xxvii. 331.

ⁱ Ib. 332.

women who had fallen from virtue; among his converts was the notorious queen Bertrada, whom he persuaded, after the death of Philip, to live for a time at Fontevraud under the severe discipline of his community.^k He had three nunneries—one for virgins and widows, one for the sick and lepers, and the third for women whom he had reclaimed from a life of sin. The rule was very strict; the female recluses were not allowed to talk except in the chapter-house,^m because, it is said, Robert knew that they could not be restrained from idle talk except by an entire prohibition of speech.ⁿ But it was rumoured that Robert laid himself open to scandal by reviving a kind of fanaticism which had been practised in the early African Church.^o Godfrey of Vendôme remonstrates with him on this subject, and mentions that he was charged also with partiality in his behaviour towards his female disciples—treating some with indulgence, while to others he was harsh in language, and mercilessly subjected them to cold, hunger, and nakedness. Marbod, bishop of Remes, also addressed to him a letter of admonition—censuring him for the affectations which he practised for the sake of influence over the simple, but which, in the bishop's opinion, were more likely to make his sanity suspected—the long beard, the naked feet, the old and tattered garments; and telling him that, by attacking the clergy in his sermons, he excited the people to the sin of despising their pastors.^p

The order of Fontevraud was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1106, and again in 1113.^q Robert, finding his strength decay, in 1115 committed the superintendence of his whole order—monks as well as nuns—to a female superior—an extraordinary arrangement, for which he alleged the precedent that the Saviour on the Cross commended St. John to the care of the Blessed Virgin as his mother.^r At the founder's death, in 1117, the number of nuns at

^k Bayle, note F.; Hist. Litt. x. 164.

^m *Capitulum*—so called because among the Benedictines a chapter of the rule was there read every day. Walter, 308.

ⁿ W. Mahmesb. 673; Schröckh, xxvii. 336.

^o "Faminiarum quasdam, ut dicitur, nimis familiariter tecum habitare permittis, et cum ipsis etiam, et inter ipsas, noctu frequenter cubare non erubescis, etc." Godefr. Vindocin. ad Robertum, Ep. iv. 47 (Bibl. Patr. xxi. 49). The genuineness of this letter has been questioned, but is established by Mabillon (Annal. v. 424) and Pagi (xviii. 294). See Bayle, notes G, L, O, P; Schröckh, xxvii. 338; Gieseler, II.

ii. 300. It is not immorality but indiscretion that Godfrey imputes to Robert. He mentions the charges merely as matter of hearsay, and is known to have afterwards treated Robert with great respect (Hist. Litt. x. 162; xi. 190). Mabillon supposes that both Godfrey and Marbod wrote between the foundation and the full establishment of Fontevraud. Annal. v. 424-5.

^p Marb. Ep. 6. ap. Hildebert. ed. Beaugendre, Paris. 1708; pp. 1401-10. The editor, without apparent ground, doubts whether it was addressed to Robert. See Hist. Litt. x. 556.

^q Bayle, vi. 504.

^r Ib. By some writers the female

Fontevraud already amounted to 3000; and soon after it was between 4000 and 5000.^a The order gradually spread, and had establishments both in Spain and in England.^t

IV. Of the orders which had their origin about this time the most widely extended and most powerful was the Cistercian. The founder, Robert, was son of a nobleman in Champagne, and entered a monastery at the age of fifteen.^u After having lived in several religious houses without finding any one sufficiently strict for his idea of the monastic profession, he became the head of a society at Molesme, in the diocese of Langres. They were at first excessively poor, and underwent great privations; but the sight of their rigid life soon drew to them a profusion of gifts, which led to a relaxation of their discipline.^x After having in vain remonstrated, Robert left them in indignation; but they soon requested him to return.^y He complied, but had the mortification of discovering that their invitation had been prompted by the cessation of the gifts which his presence had procured for them. Discords arose on the subject of dispensations from the Benedictine rule; and in 1098, Robert, with the sanction of the legate Hugh of Lyons, withdrew with twenty companions to Cistercium or Cîteaux, a lonely place, overgrown with woods and brambles, in the neighbourhood of Dijon.^z The duke of Burgundy bestowed on the infant community a site for buildings, with land for tillage, and contributed to its support. In the following year, Robert was once more desired to return to Molesme by the authority of Urban II., on the representation of the monks that their society had fallen into disorder and that they were persecuted by their neighbours;^a and he continued to govern his earlier foundation until his death in 1110.^b

His successor at Cîteaux, Alberic, laid down the rule for the new order, and it was afterwards carried out with greater rigour by the

headship has been defended with arguments which, as reported by Bayle and Schröckh, appear nowise happy. On the other hand, Mabillon denies the fact (*Annal.* v. 423). But there is the evidence of Abelard for it, immediately after Robert's time, and the order of Fontevraud continued to be governed by women. *Hist. Litt.* x. 163-4; *Hélyot*, vi. 93-4; *Schröckh*, xxvii. 334-5.

^a Mabillon, *Annal.* vi. 17.

^t *Schröckh*, xxvii. 340.

^u *Hist. Litt.* x. 2.

^x Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 93-4.

^y *Order. Vital.* iv. 435-441.

^z "Relatio qualiter incepit ordo Cisterciensis," in *Monast. Anglic.* v. 221; *W. Malmesb.* 513; *Mabill. Annal.* v. 394.

^a Urban II. *Ep.* 21, ap. *Hard.* vi. William of Malmesbury says that the monks of Molesme recalled Robert because they knew him to be tired of the strictness of Cîteaux (515). But this story is rejected as a calumny. *Mabill. Annal.* v. 405; *Schröckh*, xxvii. 253.

^b *Order. Vital.* iii. 442; *Mabill. Annal.* v. 395, 404, 546; *Monast. Angl.* v. 222.

third abbot, Stephen Harding, an Englishman and one of Robert's original companions, whose code, entitled the "Charter of Love," was sanctioned by pope Calixtus in 1119.^c The Cistercians were to observe the rule of St. Benedict, without any glosses or relaxations. Their dress was to be white, agreeably to a pattern which the Blessed Virgin had shown to Alberic in a vision.^d They were to accept no gifts of churches, altars, or tithes. From the ides of September to Easter, they were to eat but one meal daily.^e Their monasteries were to be planted in lonely places; they were to eschew all pomp, pride, and superfluity; their services were to be simple and plain; some of the ecclesiastical vestments were discarded, and those which were retained were to be of fustian or linen, without any golden ornaments. They were to have only one iron chandelier; their censers were to be of brass or iron; no plate was allowed, except one chalice and a tube for the eucharistic wine, and these were, if possible, to be of silver gilt, but not of gold. The monks were to give themselves wholly to spiritual employments, while the secular affairs of the community were to be managed by the "bearded" or lay brethren. No serfs were allowed, but hired servants were employed to assist in labour.^f In the simplicity of their church services and furniture, the Cistercians differed from the Cluniacs, whose ritual was distinguished for its splendour; the elder order regarded the principles of the younger as a reproach against itself, and a rivalry soon sprang up between them.^g The white dress, which, although already adopted at Camaldoli, was a novelty in France, gave offence to the other monastic societies, who had worn black habits as a symbol of humility and regarded the new colour as a pretension to superior righteousness; but the Cistercians defended it as expressive of the joy which became the angelic life of the cloister.^h

In 1113 the order of Cîteaux received the member whose reputation was to give it its greatest lustre and popularity—St. Bernard. The same year saw the foundation of the eldest daughter society—that of La Ferté; Pontigny followed in 1114, Clairvaux (of which the young Bernard was the first abbot), and Morimond in 1115.ⁱ The bishops in whose dioceses these houses

^c Calixt. Ep. 2, ap. Hard. vi. 1949. W. Mahmesb. 516; Hist. Litt. xi. 213, seqq.; Mabillon, Annal. vi. 35; Life of Stephen, 158-161, in Lives of English Saints, London, 1844.

^d Mabillon, Annal. v. 531.

^e Order. Vital. iii. 445.

^f Monast. Angl. v. 222-5; Mabill.

Annal. v. 431; Schröckh, xxvii. 254-5.

^g Hélyot, iv. 349; Schröckh, xxvii. 349.

^h Order. Vital. iii. 434-5; Mabill. Annal. v. 531; Life of Stephen Harding, 55.

ⁱ Mabill. Annal. v. 587, 594, 603-5.

were situated renounced the claim to jurisdiction over them.^k While the government of the Cluniaes was monarchical, that of the Cistercians was aristocratic; the four chief "daughters"—those which have just been named—were allowed a large influence in the affairs of the order, and took the chief part in electing the abbots of Cîteaux.^m But the most remarkable feature in the system was that of the annual general chapters, the first of which was held in 1116.ⁿ For these meetings every abbot of the order was required to appear at Cîteaux, unless prevented by illness, in which case he was represented by a deputy. From the nearer countries, the attendance was to be every year; from the more remote, it was, according to their distance, to be once in three, four, five, or seven years.^o Such meetings had been held occasionally in other orders, as in that of Grammont; but it was among the Cistercians that they were for the first time organised as a part of the regular government; and from them they were copied by the Carthusians and others. The effect of this arrangement was found to be beneficial, not only in securing a general superintendence of the community, but as a means of preventing jealousies by allowing the affiliated societies a share in the administration of the whole.^p

After having thrown out its first swarms, the Cistercian order spread with great rapidity. At the general chapter in 1151, it numbered upwards of 500 monasteries, and it was resolved that no further additions should be admitted. But in the following century, the number had increased to 1800, and eventually it became much greater.^q The Cistercians grew rich, and reforms were necessary among them; but until the rise of the Mendicant orders, they were the most popular of all the monastic societies.

V. The canonical life had fallen into great decay. Nicolas II., in the council of 1059, attempted a reformation, by which canons were to live at a common table but without sacrificing their private property or their official revenues.^r But Ives of Chartres and others introduced a new system, which resembled that of monasticism in the renunciation of all individual property. The canons of this system were styled *regular*, and took their name from St. Augustine, who had instituted a similar manner of life among his clergy.^s

^k Schröckh, xxvii. 257.

^m Mabill. Annal. v. 595; Hélyot, v. 351.

ⁿ Mabill. Annal. v. 617.

^o See Martene, iv. 172.

^p Planck, IV. ii. 515-7.

^q Schröckh, xxvii. 250.

^r The decree is not in Hardouin, and was first printed by Mabillon in vol. iv. of his Annals. Mosheim, ii. 361.

^s Schröckh, xxvii. 345.

A new order of canons was soon after founded by Norbert, who was born of a noble family at Xanten, on the Lower Rhine, about 1080.^t In early life he obtained canonries both at his native place and at Cologne. He attached himself to the court of Henry V., with whom he enjoyed great favour, and his life was that of a courtly ecclesiastic, devoted to the enjoyments of the world, and altogether careless of his spiritual duties. In 1111 he accompanied the emperor to Italy, where the first impulse to a change was given by his horror at the outrages and imprisonment to which the pope was subjected. A scruple as to investiture led him soon after to refuse the see of Cambray;^u and his conversion was completed by a thunderstorm, in which he appears to have been thrown from his horse, who was startled by a flash of lightning, and to have been rendered for a time insensible; while the voice which he is said to have heard from heaven, and other circumstances more closely assimilating his case to that of St. Paul, may be ascribed either to his imagination or to invention.^x

After this he withdrew for a time to a monastery; and, as he was yet only a subdeacon, he presented himself before the archbishop of Cologne, with a request that the A.D. 1115. orders of deacon and priest might be conferred on him in one day. The archbishop, finding that the request proceeded from an excess of zeal, consented to dispense with the canons which forbade such ordinations; and Norbert, exchanging his gay dress for a rough sheepskin, girt his body with a cord, and set-out on the career of a preacher and a reformer.^y His appearance in this character displeased his brethren, and, at a council held by the legate Conon at Fritzlar, in 1118, some of them charged him with turbulence, assumption, and eccentricities unbecoming both his birth and his ecclesiastical station.^z As the attempt to do good in his own country seemed hopeless, he resigned his benefices, sold all that he possessed, gave away the price, and went forth with two brethren to preach the Gospel in apostolical poverty.^a At St. Gilles, in Nov. 1118. Provence, he became known to pope Gelasius, who wished to retain him in his company; but Norbert was bent on continuing his labours, and obtained from the pope a license to preach where-soever he would.^b He made his way through France, barefooted and thinly clad, disregarding the roughness of the ways, the rain, the ice,

^t Vita, 1, ap. Pertz, xii.

^u Ib. 6.

^x Ib. 1; Schröckh, xxvii. 346; Ne-
ander, 369.

^y Vita, 2; Schröckh, xxvii. 349.

^z Vita, 4.

^a Ib.

^b Hermann. Laudun. de Miraculis
S. Marie Laudunensis, l. iii. 2. ap.
Guib. Novig. ed. D'Achery, Paris, 1651
(also in Pertz, xii.).

and the snow. At Valenciennes, finding that his knowledge of French was insufficient for preaching, while the people could not understand his German, he prayed for the gift of tongues, and we are told that his prayer was heard.^c At Cambray, the city of which he had refused to be bishop, he fell dangerously ill; his two original companions, with a third who had joined him at Orleans, died; but he found a new associate in the bishop's chaplain, Hugh.^d The effect of his preaching was heightened by miracles, and wherever he appeared, he was received with veneration.^e

In company with Hugh, Norbert repaired to the council of Rheims, with a view of soliciting from Calixtus a renewal of his general license to preach. On account of their mean appearance, they were unable to obtain an audience of the pope; and they left the city in despair. But on the road they met with Bartholomew, bishop of Laon, who persuaded them to return with him, and not only obtained for them the license which they sought, but, by the pope's permission, carried them with him to Laon, with a view of employing them in a reform of his canons. At Laon, Hugh left his master for a time.^f Norbert, however, found the task of reform beyond his power;^g he refused an abbacy in the city; but, at Bartholomew's entreaty, he consented to remain within the diocese. The bishop conducted him from one spot to another, with a view of fixing on a site; and at length he chose Prémontré, a lonely and marshy valley in the forest of Coucy, from which his order took the name of *Præmonstratensian*. A little chapel was already built there, and Norbert, on passing a night in it, had a vision of the Blessed Virgin, who showed him a pattern of the dress which he was to assume.^h

Having chosen a situation, Norbert went forth in the beginning of Lent to gather companions, and by Easter he returned to Prémontré with thirteen,ⁱ whose number was speedily increased. For a time, like Antony and Benedict, he was much

^c Vita Posterior, ap. Pertz, xii. 674.

^d That it is a mistake to ascribe the *later* Life to Hugh, see Pertz, xii. 666, by whom the original Life has been published for the first time.

^e Vita, 6-8; Herm. iii. 8. The Præmonstratensian continuer of Sigebert places the death of Norbert's companions and Hugh's adhesion after the council of Rheims. Pertz, vi. 448.

^f Vita, 9.

^g Hermann, iii. 2-3; Robert Autissiodor, ap. Bouquet, xii. 291.

^h Hermann, iii. 3; Bouquet, xii. 271,

291; Monast. Anglie. vi. 858-863. There is a contest as to the derivation of *Præmonstratum*. Some derive it from the vision in which the Blessed Virgin foreshowed the spot; but it would seem that the name was before given to some place in the immediate neighbourhood, if not to the very site of Norbert's monastery. See Vita, 9, p. 679; Monast. Angl. vi. 860-1; Bouquet, xii. 271; Mabillon, Annal. vi. 48; Helyot, ii. 156-7.

ⁱ Sigeb. Contin. Præm. ap. Pertz, vi.

448.

vexed by the devices of the devil, but he was victorious in the contest.^k Thus we are told that once, when the enemy was rushing on him, in the shape of a bear, he compelled him to vanish;^m and that by a like power he obliged the wolves of the neighbourhood to perform the duty of sheep-dogs.ⁿ

The rule of the Præmonstratensians combined the rigid life of monks with the practical duties of the clerical profession.^o The Cistercian system of annual chapters was adopted, and the abbot of Prémontré was elected by those of seven other houses, of which three were specially fixed.^p The order was not allowed to possess tolls, taxes, or serfs; and they were specially forbidden to keep any animals of the more curious kinds—such as deer, bears, monkeys, peacocks, swans, or hawks.^q The new establishment met with favour and liberal patronage. Theobald, count of Champagne, wished to enter into it; but the founder told him that it was God's will that he should continue in his life of piety and beneficence as a layman, and that he should marry in the hope of offspring to inherit his territories.^r The fame of Norbert was increased by his victory in 1124 over a fanatic of Antwerp named Tanchelm, whose system appears to have been a mixture of impiety and immorality.^s He frequently made journeys through France and Germany, and established monasteries after the pattern of Prémontré.

In 1126, Count Theobald married a German princess. Norbert was invited to the nuptials, and had proceeded as far as Spire, where the emperor Lothair and two papal legates happened to be. The clergy of Magdeburg, being unable to agree in the choice of an archbishop, had resolved to be guided by the advice of the legates; and on Norbert's entering a church where their deputies were in conference with the legates, his appearance was hailed as providential, and the legates recommended him for the vacant dignity. The emperor, who had been struck by his preaching, confirmed the choice, and it was in vain that Norbert pleaded unfitness and his other engagements.^t At Magdeburg he was received with great pomp; but he had altered nothing in his habits, and when he appeared last in the procession, barefooted and meanly dressed, the porter of the archiepiscopal palace was about

^k Vita, 9, 13-4.^m Ib. 17.ⁿ Ib. 16; Ep. Trajectensis Eccles. Cod. Udabr. 288; Schröckh, xxvii. 358; xxix. 653.^o Vita, Poster. ap. Pertz, xii. 692.^p Schröckh, xxvii. 356.^q Institut. Præm. iv. 1, 8, ap. Martene, iii. 334.^r Ib. 16.^s Vita, 15, p. 688.^t Herm. Laud. iii. 9. There are other versions of the story. Vita, 17-8; Hist. Litt. xi. 247.

to shut him out as a beggar. On discovering the mistake, the man was filled with dismay; but Norbert told him that he had understood his unfitness better than those who had forced him to accept the see.^a

As archbishop, Norbert took an active part in the affairs of the church. Notwithstanding much opposition he established a college of Præmonstratensians instead of the dissolute canons of St. Mary at Magdeburg.^x In 1129, he resigned the headship of his order to his old companion Hugh; and, on revisiting Prémontré in company with Pope Innocent II., he had the satisfaction of finding that his rule was faithfully observed by a brotherhood of about 500.^y

Norbert died in 1134.^z The Præmonstratensians spread widely, and long kept up their severity; but in time their discipline was impaired by wealth, and the order has become extinct even in some countries of the Roman communion, where it was once established.^a The founder was canonised by Gregory XIII. in 1582.^b

VI. Some orders were established for the performance of special acts of charity, as the Canons of St. Antony, founded in the end of the eleventh century by Gaston, a nobleman of Dauphiny, in thankfulness for his recovery from the pestilence called St. Antony's Fire.^c And to such an institution is to be traced the origin of one of the great Military Orders which are a remarkable feature of this time.

A monastery for the benefit of Latin pilgrims had been founded at Jerusalem about the middle of the eleventh century, chiefly through the bounty of merchants of Amalfi. To this was attached a hospital for each sex—that for men having a chapel dedicated to St. John the Almsgiver,^d for whom the more venerable name of St. John the Baptist was afterwards substituted as patron; and relief was given to pilgrims who were sick, or who had been reduced to destitution, whether by the expenses of their journey or by the robbers who infested the roads.^e From the time of the conquest by the crusaders, the brethren of the hospital became independent of the monastery, and formed themselves into a separate order, distinguished by a black dress, with a white cross on the

^a Vita, 18.

^x Ib.

^b Butler, June 6.

^y Herm. Laud. iii. 6; Siegb. Contin.

^c Schröckh, xxvii. 327.

450.

^d See p. 31.

^z Vita, 22.

^a Hélyot, ii. 163; Schröckh, xxvii. 364-9.

^e Monast. Angl. vi. 793-4; Pagi and Mansi, in Bar. xviii. 107-9; Hélyot, iii. 73; Wilken, ii. 539-540.

breast, and living monastically under a rule which was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1113.^c The piety and charity of these brethren attracted general reverence; they were enriched by gifts and endowments, both in Asia and in Europe, from kings and other benefactors; and many knights who had gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Land enrolled themselves among them. Among these was Raymond du Puy, who in 1118 became master of the hospital, and soon after drew up a rule which was sanctioned by Pope Calixtus in 1120. The Hospitallers were to profess poverty, obedience, and strict chastity; they were to beg for the poor, and, whenever they went abroad for this or any other purpose, they were not to go singly, but with companions assigned by the master. No one was to possess any money without the master's leave; and, when travelling, they were to carry a light with them, which was to be kept burning throughout the night.^d

About the same time arose the military order of the Temple. In 1118, Hugh des Payens and seven other French knights, impressed by the dangers to which Christianity was exposed in the East, and by the attacks to which pilgrims were subject from infidels and robbers, vowed before the patriarch of Jerusalem to fight for the faith against the unbelievers, to defend the highways, to observe the three monastic obligations, and to live under a discipline adopted from the canons of St. Augustine.^e

The formation of this society roused the Hospitallers to emulation.^f The martial spirit revived in some of the brethren, who had formerly been knights; and as the wealth of the body was far more than sufficient for their original objects, Raymond du Puy offered their gratuitous services against the infidels to king Baldwin. The Hospitallers were now divided into three classes—knights, clergy, and serving brethren—the last consisting of persons who were not of noble birth. Both the knights and the servitors were bound, when not engaged in war, to devote themselves to the original purposes of the order. They soon distinguished themselves by signal acts of valour, and in 1130 their institution was confirmed by Innocent II. But by degrees they cast off the modesty and humility, by which they had been at first distinguished; they defied and insulted the patriarchs of Jerusalem, and claimed immunity from the payment of ecclesiastical dues.^g When

^c Wilken, ii. 541-2.

^d Hélyot, iii. 75; Wilken, ii. 513.

^e Schröckh, xxv. 99; Wilken, ii. 9, Anglic. vi. 794-5.

^f See Wilken, ii. 549.

^g Ib. 550-1; Schröckh, 97; Monast.

expelled from the Holy Land, they settled successively in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta; and in the last of these seats they continued almost to our own time.

The career of the Templars was shorter, but yet more brilliant. At first they were excessively poor, although the seal of the order, which displays two knights seated on one horse, may perhaps be better interpreted as a symbol of their brotherly union than as signifying that the first Grand Master and Godfrey of St. Omer possessed but a single charger between them.^m In 1127, Hugh des Payens and some of his brethren returned to Europe. St. Bernard, who was nephew to one of the members, warmly took up their cause, and addressed a letter to Hugh, in which he enthusiastically commended the institution, exhorted the Templars to the fulfilment of their duties, and dilated on the holy memories connected with Jerusalem and Palestine.ⁿ At the council of Troyes, held by a papal legate in 1128, Hugh appeared and gave an account of the origin of his order;^o and he received for it a code of statutes, drawn up by Bernard. These no longer exist in their original form, but their substance is preserved in the extant rule, which is divided into 72 heads.^p The Templars were charged to be regular in devotion, self-denying, and modest. Each knight was restricted to three horses—"the poverty of God's house for the time not allowing of a greater number."^q No gold or silver was to be used in the trappings of their horses; or if such ornaments should be given to them, they were ordered to disguise the precious metals with colour, in order to avoid the appearance of pride.^r They were to have no locked trunks;^s they were not to receive letters, even from their nearest relations, without the master's knowledge, and were to read all letters in his presence.^t They were to receive no presents except by leave of the master, who was authorised to transfer presents from the knight for whom they were intended to another.^u They were forbidden to hawk and to hunt; nor might they accompany a person engaged in such amusements, except for the purpose of defending him from infidel treachery.^x They were charged "always to strike the lion"—

^m This is the common interpretation (Wilken, ii. 552); but Wileke (*Gesch. des Tempelherren-Ordens*, i. 11, Leipz. 1826) remarks that, as being knights, they must have possessed horses.

ⁿ *Exhortatio ad Milites Templi*, Opera, i. 544-557, ed. Mabillon, Paris, 1690.

^o W. Tyr. xii. 7, ap. Hard. vi. 2131.

^p "*Regula pauperum Communitonum Christi, Templique Salomoniaci*," Hard. vi. 2132, seqq. See Schröckh, xvii. 99-101; Wilken, ii. 558; Wileke, i. 19.

^q C. 30.

^r C. 40.

^s C. 43.

^t C. 37.

^u C. 41.

^x Cc. 16-7.

i. e. apparently, to destroy the enemies of the faith.^y Individual property in lands and men was allowed.^z Married brethren might be associated into the order; but they were not to wear its white dress, and they were bound to make it their heir.^a The Templars were forbidden to kiss their mothers or sisters;^b they were not to walk alone;^c the habit of the order was white,^d to which Eugenius II. added a red cross on the breast;^e their banner, the *Beauseant*, was of black and white, inscribed with the motto "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam."^f

Although the order had already been nine years in existence, the number of its members was only nine;^g but when thus solemnly inaugurated, and aided by the zealous recommendations of the great saint of Clairvaux, it rapidly increased. There were soon three hundred knights, of the noblest families, a large body of chaplains, and a countless train of servitors and artificers.^h Emperors, kings and other potentates enriched it with lands and endowments, so that, within fifty years after its foundation, it already enjoyed a royal revenue, derived from possessions in all parts of Europe.ⁱ But, according to the writer who states this, it had even then begun to display the pride, insolence, and defiance of ecclesiastical authority which afterwards rendered it unpopular, and prepared the way for its falling undefended and unlamented.^k

By the rise of the new orders, the influence of monachism in the church was greatly increased. They were strictly bound to the papacy by ties of mutual interest, and could always reckon on the pope as their patron in disputes with bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities.^m A large proportion of the papal rescripts during this time consists of privileges granted to monasteries. Many were absolutely exempted from the jurisdiction of bishops;ⁿ yet such exemptions were less frequently bestowed, as the monastic communities became better able to defend themselves against oppression, and as, consequently, the original pretext for exemptions

^y C. 48.^z C. 51.^a C. 55.^b C. 72.^c C. 35.^d C. 20.^e W. Tyr. ap. Hard. vi. 2131.^f Wilken, ii. 559.^g W. Tyr. l. c.^h Ib. Wilken, ii. 562-4.ⁱ W. Tyr. l. c. Henry I. of England was among the princes who contributed to it (Lappenb. ii. 279); but it is a mistake to ascribe to him the gift of its

property in London, which was really bestowed by Henry II. See Wilken, ii. Anhang, 47—whose argument as to a document in the Monasticon, however, rests in part on a confusion between Chester and Chichester.

^k W. Tyr. l. c.^m Greg. VII. Ep. ii. 9; Planck, IV. ii. 543.ⁿ See, e. g. Urban's grant to La Cava, Ep. x. Hard. vi. 1637.

no longer existed.^o If bishops had formerly found it difficult to contend with the abbots of powerful individual monasteries, it was now a far more serious matter to deal with a member of a great order, connected with brethren everywhere, closely allied with the pope, and having in the abbot of Cluny or of Cîteaux a chief totally independent of the bishop, and able to support his brethren against all opposition. The grievance of which bishops had formerly complained, therefore, was now more rarely inflicted by the privileges bestowed on monasteries, and the monks were, although without it, in a higher position than ever.^p

The maintenance of the monastic communities preyed very seriously on the revenues of the church. Laymen who were moved by conscience or by compulsion to resign tithes which they had held, were inclined to bestow them on monasteries, rather than on the parish churches to which they rightfully belonged. And as, by an abuse already described,^q it had often happened that a layman possessed himself of the oblations belonging to a church, assigning only a miserable stipend to the incumbent, these dues, as well as the tithes, were, in case of a restitution, transferred to the monks. It was with little effect that synods attempted to check such impropriations;^r nor did they perfectly succeed in forbidding monks to interfere with the secular clergy by undertaking pastoral and priestly functions.^s

The monks of Monte Cassino claimed liberties even against the papacy itself. An abbot elected during the pontificate of Honorius II., refused to make his profession to the pope, and, on being asked why he should refuse to comply with a form to which all archbishops and bishops submitted, he replied that bishops had often fallen into heresy or schism, but that Monte Cassino had always been pure. Honorius gave way; but when the abbey afterwards sided with the antipope Anacletus, the plea for exemption could no longer be pretended, and the usual profession was exacted from its heads.^t

New privileges were conferred on orders or on particular monasteries. According to the chronicler of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, the mitre was granted to the abbot of that house by

^o Planck, IV. ii. 557.

^p *Ib.* 513, 540.

^q P. 189.

^r Thomassin, II. i. 36. 6; Planck, 526-31; Conc. Westmonast. A.D. 1102; Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1123, c. 19; Conc. Laud. A.D. 1125, c. 4, &c. Acquisitions of this kind, if already made, were al-

ways reserved; sometimes popes sanctioned future acquisitions also; e. g. Calixt. II. Ep. 20; and so it was in the rule of the Templars, c. 66, Hard. vi. 2144.

^s E. g. Conc. Later. A.D. 1123, c. 17; Planck, IV. ii. 534.

^t Mabill. Acta SS. VIII. ix.-x.

Alexander II. in 1063, but, through the simplicity of the abbots, and the enmity of the archbishops, the privilege lay dormant for a time.^a The first certain grant of the mitre, however, was made to the abbot of St. Maximin at Treves, by Gregory VII.^x Among other grants were the privilege of wearing the episcopal ring or sandals; exemption from the payment of tithes, and from the jurisdiction of legates;^y exemption from excommunication except by the pope alone;^z exemption from any interdict laid on the country in which they might be.^a The abbots of Cluny and of Vendome were, by virtue of their office, cardinals of the Roman church.^b

In addition to the genuine grants, there was now a vast manufacture of forgeries. The abbey of St. Medardus, at Soissons, was notorious for impostures of this kind; one of its monks, named Guerno, confessed on his deathbed that he had travelled widely, supplying monasteries with spurious "apostolic" privileges, and that among those which had employed him in this manner was the proud society of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury.^c

^a W. Thorn. vi. 8, ap. Twysden, 1785.

^x Gieseler, II. ii. 304.

^y Callist. II. Ep. x. (for Vendome).

^z Callist. II. Ep. 22 (for Cluny).

^a Paschal II. Ep. 66 (for Cluny).

^b Thomassin, III. xli. 20 (for Vendome).

^c See the story in Wharton; ii. Pref. v.

INDEX.

A.

- ABRESSES, 209.
 Abbo, of Fleury, 392, 395, 401, 403, 491.
 Abbots, 204.
 Abderrahman, caliph, 357-9.
 Absolution, 224.
 Acephalous clerks, 186, 478.
 Adalbero, abp. of Rheims, 394-8, 477.
 Adalbert, abp. of Magdeburg, 433, 436, 471.
 —, bp. of Prague, 436-8, 442.
 —, abp. of Bremen, 454, 456, 550-3, 560-1.
 —, abp. of Mentz, 683-4, 686, 691, 694.
 Adamnan, 69.
 Adelaide, empress, 623-4, 628.
 Adelbert, opponent of Boniface, 103-5.
 Adelhard, abbot of Corbie, 234, 239.
 Adelman, 600.
 Adhemar, bp. of Le Puy, 631, 633-9, 641.
 Ado, abp. of Vienne, 494.
 Adoptionism, 154-160.
 Adrian I., pope, 120, 122, 175 6; corresponds with Tarasius, 142; sends deputies to Nicaea, *ib.*; correspondence with Charlemagne as to images, 150, 153, 262; on slavery, 231.
 — II., 307; murder of his wife and daughter, 308; admits Lothair to communion, 309; favours Wulfad, 313; foiled by Hincmar, 319-320; letters as to Hincmar of Laon, 323-5; death, 325; excommunicates Photius, 349.
 —, III., 332, 354.
 Adventus, 303, 461.
 Advocates, 187, 475, 490.
 Aelfric, 606.
 Africa, conquered by the Saracens, 36.
 African church, 7.
 Agapetus II., pope, 887.
 Agatho, pope, 67; opposes Monothelism, 46.
 Agil, 72.
 Agilbert, bp. of Paris, 61, 64-5.
 Agnes, empress, 535, 546-581; deprived of the regency, 547; influenced by P. Damiani, 550; mission to Germany, 571.
 Agobard, abp. of Lyons, writes against Adoptionism, 159; against ordeals, 226; against Amalarius, 493-4; against superstitions, 263; tract on images, *ib.*; opposes Louis the Pious, 243-6.
 Aidan, 62-3.
 Aistulf, Lombard king, 116-7.
 Aleuin, 124-5, 131, 134, 211, 431; account of him, 133-5; writes against images, 150-2; takes part in the Adoptionist controversy, 155-9; his language as to the Eucharist, 212.
 Althelm, 76.
 Alexander II. (Anselm), 438, 489, 492, 518; opposes marriage of the clergy, 541-2; elected pope, 546; dealings with the Milanese, 555-7; cites Henry IV. to Rome, 563; his death, *ib.*
 Alexander III., 496.
 Alexius Comnenus, allies himself with Henry IV., 595, 599; his dealings with the crusaders, 628, 634, 636-9, 641; his design on Rome, 687.
 Alfred the Great, 294, 360-1; his translations from Gregory, 22-3; attempts revival of Monachism, 425.
 All Saints' Day, 216, 497.
 All Souls' Day, 497.
 Altars, 215.
 Alvar, Peter, 358-9.
 Amalarius, 293, 493-4.
 Amandus, 43, 74.
 Ambrose, on marriage of the clergy, 541, 556.
 America, discovery of, 457.
 Amida, patriarchs of, 163.
 Amulo, 293, 296.
 Anastasius, patriarch of Constantinople, 83, 90.
 —, antipope, 283.
 Anathema, 502.
 Angels, 220.
 Angilram, capitula of, 268.
 Anne, St., of Russia, 435.
 Ansgis, editor of Capitularies, 269.
 —, abp. of Sens, 327.
 Anselm of Badagio, *see* Alexander II.
 — bp. of Lucca, 575, 619.
 — abp. of Canterbury, 642, 663; his "Proslogion," 664; becomes archbp., 666; has disagreements with William Rufus, 667; attacks fashionable dress, 668; appears before a council at Rockingham, 669; receives the pall, 670; sets out for Rome, 671; writes on the Incarnation, 672; attends a council at Bari, *ib.*; his residence at Rome and at Lyons, 673; recalled by Henry I., *ib.*; makes scruples as to homage, 674; holds a council, 675; second expedition to Rome, 676; again at Lyons, *ib.*; is reconciled with Henry, 677-8; defends the rights of his see, 692-3; his death, 679.
 Anskar, 367-375.
 Antioch, siege of by the Crusaders, 637-9.
 Antony, patriarch of Constantinople, 218-9, 251, 256.
 Antony, St., canons of, 712.
 Aquileia, schism of, 12.
 Arabia, state of religion in, 32.
 Archbishops, 179.
 Archdeacons, 183.

Architecture, 500.
 Archpriests, 184.
 Ariald, 541-5, 554-7.
 Arles, primacy of, 328; kingdom of, 300.
 Armenia, marriage of clergy in, 197.
 Arno, aup. of Salzburg, 131.
 Arnulph, emperor, 332, 378, 382.
 —, bp. of Orleans, 395, 400.
 —, abp. of Rheims, 394-404, 464, 471.
 Arras, sectaries at, 420.
 Arsenius, bp. of Orba, 306-8, 318.
 Arrald, abp. of Rheims, 384.
 Arts in England, 69-70.
 Asser, 361.
 Assumption, festival of, 217.
 Asylum, 227.
 Athanasian Creed, 160.
 Athanasius of Naples, 328.
 Atto, abp. of Milan, 554, 558, 570.
 —, bp. of Vercelli, 227.
 Augustine, bp. of Hippo, on the Eucharist, 285; on predestination, 290; canon regular styled after him, 712.
 — abp. of Canterbury, 15-20, 198.
 Aymard, abbot of Cluny, 484.

B.

Baanes, Paulician, 169-172.
 Babylon, patriarchs of, 163.
 Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, 635, 637, 642, 713.
 Bamberg, bishoprick of, 472, 524.
 Bangor, monastery of, 19, 21.
 Bardas, corrupts his nephew Michael III., 333; deposes Ignatius and promotes Photius, 335, 338; becomes Caesar, and is murdered, 347.
 Basil the Macedonian, rise of, 347-8; deposes Photius, 348; reinstates Ignatius, 349; takes part in the Eighth General Council, 350; restores Photius, 352; legalizes marriage of slaves, 229; war with the Paulicians, 172.
 Basols', St., council of, 471.
 Battle, wager of, 225-6.
 Bavaria, Christianity in, 72-3, 96, 99.
 Beatus, Spanish abbot, 157.
 Bee, abbey of, 605.
 Bede, 63, 71.
 Benedict II., pope, 55.
 — III., 283, 335.
 — VI., 392.
 — VII., 392, 441.
 — VIII., 409-412, 481.
 — IX., 413-6, 440, 510.
 —, antipope, 390.
 — of Aniane, 206-8, 229; his political influence, 234; his reforms, 237.
 — Biscop, 69.
 — the Levite, 268.
 — of Nursia, dispute as to his relics, 499.
 Benedictine order, 2, 201, 209.
 Benefices, 192, 279.
 Benzo, bishop of Alba, 546, 622.
 Berengar, emperor, 383, 387-8.
 — of Tours, 603; his early life, 607; controversy raised by, 609-618.
 Bernard, king of Italy, 237-8.
 —, abbot of Clairvaux, 707, 714.

Berno, founder of Cluny, 484.
Bertiniani, *Annales*, authorship of, 292.
 Bertha, queen of Kent, 15.
 —, queen of France, 400-1.
 —, empress, 559, 584-5, 599, 623.
 Bishops, appointment of, 177-9, 466; sit in the English wittenagemot and county-courts, 180-1; visitations by, 184; exactions of, 193-4; oppress monasteries, 203; relations of to the popes, 464; position of, 465, *scqq.*; obliged to lead troops, 473; households of, 474.
 Bishopricks, foundation of, 472.
 Boeland, 70.
 Bogoris, Bulgarian king, 343-5.
 Bohemia, Christianity in, 365, 435-8.
 Bohemund, 636, 638, 642-3.
 Boleslav the Cruel, 436, 439.
 —, the Pious, 436.
 — of Poland, 439, 440.
 Boniface, Apostle of Germany, 78, 95-112, 208.
 — VII., pope, 392.
 Bonizo, 622.
 Bonctuarians, 95.
 Boys appointed to bishopricks, 467.
 Bremen, archbishoprick of, 371.
 Britons, Christianity among, 14; conference of bishops with Augustine, 19.
 Brittany, independence of, 275.
 Brunichild, 12, 23, 27.
 Bruno, abp. of Cologne, 384, 480.
 —, bp. of Angers, 608, 611.
 —, founder of the Chartreuse, 621, 702.
 —, bp. of Segni, 605, 687.
 Bulgaria, conversion of, 343; dispute between Greeks and Latins respecting, 346-355.
 Burdinus, antipope, 688-9, 684.

C.

Cadalons, antipope (Honorius II.), 546, 553-4.
 Caedmon, 71.
 Calixtus II. (Guy, abp. of Vienne) condemns Paschal II.'s concession of investiture, 686; is chosen pope, 690; holds council at Rheims, and excommunicates Henry V., 690-2; interview with Henry I. of England, 692; banishes his rival, 694; concludes peace with the emperor, 695.
 Camaldoli, order of, 488, 699.
 Canonesses, 210.
 Canonical life, institution of, 198-201; in England, 209; change in the system, 476-7; attempts to reform, 708.
 Canonisation, 496.
 Canterbury, primacy of, 19, 658, 693; abbey of St. Augustine, 716-7.
 Canute, 412, 445, 454.
 Capitularies, 138.
 Cardinals, 537.
 Carinthia, 131.
 Carloman, 101, 104-5, 106, 117.
 Caroline Books, on images, 150; on the Eucharist, 212.
 Carthusian order, 702.
 Casimir, king of Poland, 440.
 Cathedraicum, 194.

- Cedd, 64.
 Celibacy of the clergy, 197, 478, 492, 490, 572-4, 659, 675, 677, 679.
 Cencius, 553, 576.
 Chad, 65-6.
 Chalchythe, council of, 176, 180.
 Châlons, heresies at, 417, 422.
 Chaplains, 186, 477.
 Chapter-house, 765.
 Charles Martel, 96, 113; his treatment of Boniface, 97; victory over the Saracens, 100; legend as to his punishment for invasion of church property, 100; his death, 101.
 — the Great (Charlemagne), 119, 216, 228; his Lombard match, 120; disinherits his nephews, *ib.*; overthrows the Lombard kingdom, 121; visits Rome, 121-2; his donation, 122; crowned emperor, 124; his character, 126; wars, 126-7; treatment of the Saxons, 128-131; encouragement of learning, 132, 135; his studies, 132-3; care for the liturgy, 137; ecclesiastical legislation, 138; position as to the church, 138; to the papacy, 138, 460; treats for intermarriage with the Byzantine house, 147-8; his views as to images, 150-3; takes part against the Adoptionists, 157; controversy as to procession of the Holy Spirit, 161; favours canonical life, 200; his notice of monks, 202, 205-6; care for the vernacular language, 211; opposes superstitions, 220; and sale of slaves, 231; designs for North Germany, 366; death and beatification, 233; dismemberment of his empire, 273.
 — the Bald, 268, 273, 285, 288, 302, 312-3, 316, 381; birth of, 241; is created king of Aquitaine, 243; weakens the French crown, 279; seizes Lotharingia, 319; rebellion of his son, 320; employs Hinemar to write to Adrian, 324; is crowned emperor, 326; allows his title to be elective, 327; appears at the synod of Pontyon, *ib.*; his last expedition and death, 329.
 — the Fat, 332.
 — the Simple, 331-2.
 Chazars, 362.
 Cherson, 44.
 Childeric III., dethroned, 114-6.
 China, 163.
 Chivalry, 506-8.
 Chorepiscopi, 182-3, 290, 472.
 Chosroes, Persian king, 30-1, 35.
 Chrodegang, bp. of Metz, 112; his rule for canons, 199, 236.
 Cistercian order, 706.
 Claudius, bp. of Turin, 264-6.
 Clement, opponent of Boniface, 104.
 — II., pope, 503-510.
 — III., antipope, *see* Guibert.
 Clergy, trial of, 180; local ties of, 185; social position, 194-6; multiplication of, 474.
 Clermont, council of, 629.
 Clotaire II., 59, 178, 181.
 Cloveshoo, council of, 175.
 Cluny, order of, 484-6, 698-9, 717; its contests with the diocesan, 492.
 Coloni, 4, 190, 229.
 Columban, 25-9.
 Communion, in both kinds, 286; of infants, *ib.*
 Compostella, pilgrimage to, 499; *see* of, 522.
 Confession, 224.
 Confraters, 492.
 Conon, bp. of Præneste, 686-7, 690, 692, 709.
 Conrad I., 380.
 — — II., 412-4, 471, 492, 510.
 — —, son of Henry IV., 624, 628, 635, 650.
 Constans II., emperor, 42-6.
 Constantine I., emperor, forged donation of, 175, 318.
 — IV. (Pogonatus) 46, 55.
 — V. (Copronymus) 89-94, 149, 169.
 — VI., 141, 147-8.
 — VII. (Porphyrogenitus) 377, 433.
 — X. (Monomachus) 528-530.
 — I., pope, 52.
 — II., 119.
 — —, patriarch of Constantinople, 92-4.
 — —, Padiacan teacher, 165-8.
 Coptic language, 212.
 Cordova, persecution at, 354.
 Corsica, 277-8.
 Corned, 226.
 Councils, General — 6th, 47-8; 7th, 143-7; 8th, of Latins, 349; of Greeks, 353; 9th, 696.
 — —, mixed, 180.
 Counts, become hereditary, 279.
 Crescentius, 311-3, 409.
 Crete, 277, 378.
 Croatia, 361.
 Cross, exaltation of, 31; festivals of, 209.
 Croyland, privileges of, 228.
 Crucifix, 50.
 Crusades, proposed by Sylvester II., 305; and by Gregory VII., 572; the first crusade, 625-643; results of, 643-6.
 Cuklees, 432.
 Cyril, missionary, 362; his alphabet, *ib.*; Slavonic liturgy, 435.
 Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, 38-9, 41, 43.

D.

- Dagobert, 59, 74-5.
 Damasus II., 512.
 Damiani, *see* Peter.
 Daniel, bp. of Winchester, 96, 98, 101.
 Dante, 214.
 David, chaplain of Henry V., 681, 684.
 Deanerics, rural, 184.
 Decretals, the forged, 57; account of, 267-272; adopted by Nicolas I., 317; opinion of Hinemar on, 322, 324; effect of, 462.
 Defensors, 8, 187.
 Denmark, Christianity in, 369, 372-4, 444-6.
 Denys, St. (*see* Dionysius), abbey, founded, 59; dispute as to the patron's relics, 499; synod at, 499.
 Desiderius, bp. of Vienna, 23.
 — —, Lombard king, 119-121.
 — —, abbot of M. Cassino, *see* Victor III.

Dionysius, the Areopagite, 33, 293.
 Divorce, question of, 301.
 Dol, archbishoprick of, 275.
 Dominic of the Cuirass, 517.
 Donatists, 4, 13.
 Donus, pope, 46.
 Dress, vanities of, 209, 648, 668.
 Drithelm, 214.
 Drogo, bp. of Metz, 238-9, 247, 282.
 Druthmar, 286.
 Dungal, 266.
 Dunstan, 426-9, 465.

E.

Eanham, council of, 429.
 Easter, time of, 19, 62, 69.
 Ebbo, abp. of Rheims, missionary in the north, 366, 370, 374; opposes Louis the Pious, 241, 245; deposed, 246; resumes his see, but is ejected, 310-1; becomes bp. of Hildesheim, 311; question as to his ordinations, 311-3.
 Ecthesis of Heraclius, 40, 43.
 Ecumenical bishop, 8; *see* Universal.
 Edessa, miraculous image of, 79, 81.
 Egbert, English monk, 63, 76.
 "Ego Ludovicus," 388.
 Egypt conquered by the Mahometans, 36.
 Einhard, 219.
 Eligius, 59, 75.
 Elipand, abp. of Toledo, 219.
 Ember weeks, 217.
 Enmeran, 72.
 End of the world expected, 3, 402, 500, 625.
 England, mission to, 14; the 7th century in, 61; monasticism, 70, 208, 425; subjection to the papacy, 175; pilgrimages from, 221; ravages of Danes in, 426; effects of the Norman conquest, 656-660.
 Eric, Danish king, 370-3.
 Essex, conversion of, 61, 63-4.
 Ethelbert, king of Kent, 15-6.
 Ethelwold, bp. of Winchester, 427.
 Ethelwulf, grant of to the church, 192.
 Etherius, bp. of Osma, 157.
 Eucharist, doctrine of the Presence, 23, 212, 285, 606 (*see* Paschasius, Aelfric, Berengar, Lanfranc); doctrine of Sacrifice, 214; administered in both kinds, *ib.*; question as to unleavened bread, 527.
 Eudes, *see* Odo.
 Eugenius I., pope, 16.
 ———— II., 240, 261-3.
 Eulogius, Spanish martyr, 358-9.
 Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, 2.
 Excommunication, 224, 502.

F.

Felix, bp. of Urgel, 154-9, 264.
 Feudal inheritance, 414.
 First and Second Council, 339.
 Flagellation, 516.
 Florence, disturbances at, 558.
 Florus, deacon of Lyons, 296, 494.
 Foleland, 70.

Fontevraud, order of, 704.
 Formosus, legate in Bulgaria, 344; becomes pope, 385; indignities to his corpse, *ib.*
 France, name of, 274; church of in the 7th century, 58; under Charles the Bald, 279; in the 10th century, 383; opinion as to images, 261, 267; councils in, 101; dismemberment of, 381.
 Frankfort, council of, 153, 157.
 Fraternities, 215.
 Fraxinetum, Saracens at, 379.
 Frisia, Christianity in, 67, 76-8.
 Protarius, 327.
 Fulbert, bp. of Chartres, 607.
 Fulda, abbey of, 102-3, 108, 203, 524, 552.
 Fulrad, archchaplain, 107, 114.
 Fursey, 214.

G.

Gall, 29.
 Gandersheim, abbey of, 404.
 Gauzbert, 370-2.
 Gegnasius, 169.
 Geisa, Hungarian prince, 442.
 Gelasius II. (John of Gaeta), 687-9.
 Gentilly, council of, 150, 161.
 Gerard, bp. of Arras, 420.
 ———, abp. of York, 674, 678, 693.
 Gerbert, *see* Sylvester II.
 Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, 53, 83, 91, 169.
 Germany, missions to, 72, 95, *seqq.*; position of bishops in, 465-7; monasticism in, 489; vernacular literature, 132.
 Gewillieb, bp. of Mentz, 106.
 Glagolitic alphabet, 363.
 Glass, staining of, 501.
 Gnesen, archbishoprick of, 437-9.
 Godfrey of Lorraine and Tuscany, 520, 532, 547.
 ———, the Hunchbacked, 582, 586.
 ——— of Bouillon, 595, 635-642.
 ———, abbot of Vendôme, 623, 695, 705.
 Gottschalek, predestinarian, 288-299, 473.
 ———, king of the Wends, 441.
 Grammont, order of, 699.
 Gratian, John, *see* Gregory VI.
 ——— Decretum of, 272.
 Greece transferred from Roman to Byzantine patriarchate, 89.
 Greek church, peculiarities of, 147; condition of the clergy, 475; differences with the Latins, 51, 147, 160, 334, 346, 355, 475, 572.
 Greenland, 456-7.
 Gregorian chant, 5, 69, 137.
 Gregory I. (the Great), pope, 2, *seqq.*; his epistles, 4; habits, 5; liturgical reforms, 5; preaching, 6; charities, *ib.*; political conduct, *ib.*; care of the church, 7; controversy with John the Faster, 8-12; relations with the emperors, 11-2; with Brunichild, 12; treatment of schismatics, Jews, sectaries, and pagans, 12-4; mission to England, 15, *seqq.*, 66, 198; his works, 21; discouragement of profane learning, 23; opinions, 23-5, 80, 216, 221; death, 25; fable as to his enforcement of celibacy, 482.

Gregory II., in the iconoclastic controversy, 87-8; patronises Boniface, 96.

— III., 89, 95, 113.

— IV., 243-4, 278.

— V. (Bruno), 302-3, 401-2.

— VI. (John Gratian), 415-6, 510, 513.

— VII. (Hildebrand), early life, 513; accompanies Leo IX. to Rome, 514; procures the appointment of Victor II., 531; holds a synod in Gaul, *ib.*; procures election of Nicolas II., 535; of Alexander II., 546; opposes P. Damian's retreat, 549; acts against Cadalous, 553-4; abets Herlembald, 558; is charged with magic, 560; chosen pope, 564; his Dictate, 567; claims over kingdoms, 567; dealings with Philip of France, 563; with Henry IV. of Germany, 570; proposes a crusade, 572; attacks clerical marriage, 572-4; and investitures, 575; is seized by Cencius, 577; is renounced by German and Lombard bishops, 579; excommunicates Henry, 581; his relations with Matilda, *ib.*; absolves Henry at Canossa, 586-590; advice to the Germans, 591; his equivocal policy, 593; renews excommunication and deposition of Henry, 594; preparations against Henry, 595; treaty with the Normans, 597; letter to Hermann, bp. of Metz, *ib.*; is besieged in Rome, 598; delivered, 600; his death and character, 601; dispute as to his canonisation, 605; his treatment of Berengar, 612-6; condemns the Slavonic Liturgy, 438; his correspondence with William the Conqueror, 661-2; sanctions the order of Grammont, 691.

— VIII., anti-pope, *see* Bardinus.

—, bp. of Syracuse, 335-7, 352.

—, abbot of Utrecht, 108.

Gualbert, abbot of Vallombrosa, 485, 488-9, 535, 555, 558.

Guibert, antipope (Clement III.), 536, 548, 577, 582, 582, 595, 599, 620-3, 648.

Guimund, 616, 657.

Gunter, abp. of Cologne, 301-5, 476.

Guy, abp. of Milan, 541-5, 556-8.

—, abp. of Vienne, *see* Calixtus II.

II.

Hamburg, 366; archbishopric of, 370-1.

Hanno, archbp. of Cologne, opposes Nicolas II., 545; carries off Henry IV., 547; takes part with Alexander II., 548, 551; administration, 552; is supplanted by Adalbert, *ib.*; recovers power, 561; troubles with his people, 571.

Harold, Danish king, 366-9.

— Blaatand, 414-9.

Hatto, abp. of Meutz, 366, 483.

Hedalsang, 215.

Heligoland, 77.

Henry I. of Germany (the Fowler), 380, 406, 440, 444.

— II., 405, 408; his expeditions into Italy, 409-410; founds the see of Bamberg, 410, 472; nominates bishops, 466; his death, 412.

Henry III., 471; deposes three popes, 416; appoints popes, 504, 512, 531; his views of reform, 510; his death, 532.

— IV., 532; carried off from his mother, 517; his education neglected, 550; assumes the government, 552; his marriage, and suit for a divorce, 559; his misgovernment, 561; is cited to Rome, 563; continued misgovernment, 569; correspondence with Gregory VII., 570; destruction of the Harzburg, 571; communication from Rome, 571; victory over the Saxons, 578; renounces Gregory, 579; letters to the pope and the Romans, 580; is excommunicated, 581; submission at Tribur, 583; humiliation and absolution at Canossa, 584-9; contest with Rudolph, 592; is again excommunicated, 594; sets up an anti-pope, 595; descends on Italy and besieges Rome, 598; is crowned emperor, 599; retires, 600; returns to Germany, 622; second expedition to Italy, 623; charges brought by Adelaide, and rebellion of Conrad, 624; lives peacefully in Germany, 619; his excommunication renewed, 630; rebellion of his son Henry, 651; is forced to abdicate, 652; his death, 653; character, 654; his burial, 655, 685.

— V., acknowledged as his father's successor, 649; rebels, 651-3; communications with Paschal II., 680-1; marches into Italy, 681; seizes and imprisons the pope and cardinals, 683; extorts submission and is crowned emperor, 684; returns to Germany, *ib.*; troubles there, 686; revisits Italy, and seizes Matilda's inheritance, 687; appears at Rome, 688; sets up an anti-pope, 689; transactions with Calixtus II., 691; is excommunicated, 692; peace established at Worms, 695.

— I. of France, 610-1.

— I. of England, recalls Anselm from banishment, 673; claims homage from bishops, 674; correspondence with the pope, *ib.*; reconciliation with Anselm, 677; gives up homage, 678; sends bishops to Rheims, 690; has an interview with Calixtus II., 692.

Heracius, emperor, 30; his conquests, 31; his losses, 35-6; attempts reconciliation of the Monophysites, 38; his Ecthesis, 10-1.

Heretics of the 11th century, 417-424.

Heribert, abp. of Milan, 412-4, 421, 540.

Herlembald, 554-7, 570.

Herman, bp. of Metz, 579, 582.

Hessia, 96-9.

Hewalds, missionaries, 95.

Hildebrand, *see* Gregory VII.

Hildulph, abbot of Moyencourt, 218.

Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, 241-2, 293.

Hilmar, abp. of Rheims, 280; his controversy with Gottschalk, 289-300; opposes Lothair's divorce, 301; defends ordinals, *ib.*; his opinion of the forged decretals, 268, 272, 322; his controversy as to Ebo's ordinations, 311-3; aids Nicolas I. against the Greeks, 313,

- 348; contest as to Rothad, 314-8; controversy with Adrian II. as to Lotharingia, 319; contest with his nephew, 320, *seqq.*; remonstrates against trial of clergy by hymen, 321; writes in the name of Charles the Bald to Adrian, 324; protests against the primacy of Sens, 327; attends a synod at Troyes, 330; contest as to the see of Beauvais, 331; objects to homage, 470; his view as to temporalities, 469; as to the royal judgment, 471; his death, 331.
- Hincmar, bp. of Laon, 320-5, 330.
- Hirschau, monastery of, 490-2.
- Holy Spirit, procession of, 160-1; 334, 346, 672.
- Homage, objected to by Hincmar, 470; forbidden by Urban II., 629; refused by Anselm, 674; settlement of the question in England, 678.
- Honorius I., pope, 55, 62; favours the Monothelites, 39; is condemned by the 6th general council, 49.
- Hospitallers, 712.
- Hugh, king of Arles, 387, 480.
- Capet, 381, 394-5, 398, 490.
- Abbot of Cluny, 486, 512, 586-8, 653, 698.
- , bp. of Langres, 521-2, 608.
- , abp. of Lyons, 575, 596, 629, 673, 676, 766; aspires to the papacy, 619-621.
- , abp. of Rheims, 384.
- the White, cardinal, 514, 519, 545, 564.
- Humbert, cardinal, 300, 469, 514, 533; his mission to Constantinople, 528-530.
- Hungarians, ravages of, 378-9; defeated by the Germans, 380.
- Hungary, Christianity in, 441-4, 497.

I.

- Iceland, 454-6.
- Iconoclasm, 79, *seqq.*; 338-9 (*see* Images).
- Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, 334; is deprived, 335-8; is persecuted, 340; is acknowledged at Rome, 342; recovers his see, 349; resists the Roman claim to Bulgaria, 350-1; his death, 351.
- Ildefonso, abp. of Toledo, 57-8.
- Illyricum, 89.
- Images, opinion of Gregory I. on, 25; growth of reverence for, 79; attacked by Leo the Isaurian; 81-9; by Constantine Copronymus, 89-94; defence by John of Damascus, 85; sanctioned by the second council of Nicaea, 116; opinions of the Frank church, 150; Alcuin and the Caroline books, 150-2; condemnation of images at Frankfort, 153; Leo the Isaurian, 248-254; Michael the Stammerer, 255; Theophilus, 257; restoration of images by Theodora, 260; controversy in France, 261-7; difference between Greek and Latin use of, 261.
- Iona, 177; 215, 228.
- Ingo, missionary in Carinthia, 131.
- Ingulf, 625.
- Interdict, 503.

- Investiture, 169-470; assailed by Gregory VII., 575; discussion on at Chalons, 681; the question settled, 696.
- Iona, 62-3.
- Ireland, ravages of the Danes in, 429; their conversion, 431; peculiar system of the church, 48, 105, 430; Irish bishops, 182.
- Irene, empress, restores images, 140-6; corrupts, dethrones, and blinds her son, 147-8; is dethroned, *ib.*
- Isidore of Seville, 57, 267.
- Isidorian decretals, 267.
- Islam, 33.
- Istria, schism of, 4, 12, 56.
- Italy, in the xth century, 382.
- Ives, bp. of Chartres, 623, 694, 708.

J.

- Jacobites, 163.
- Jerusalem, taken by Chosroes and recovered by Heraclius, 31; taken by Omar, 36; pilgrimage to, 459; taken by the crusaders, 640-1; Latin kingdom of, 641; assizes of, 642; Latin patriarchs of, 613.
- Jews, treatment of, 13, 80, 500, 633, 649.
- Joan, pope, 283, 351.
- John Tzimiskes, emperor, 467.
- IV., pope, 41-2.
- VI., 68.
- VIII., 326; crowns Charles the Bald, *ib.*; gives commission of primacy over France, 327-8; troubles with the Italians, 328; draws Charles into Italy, 329; holds synod at Troyes, 330; attempts to make an emperor, 331; dealings with the Bulgarians, Ignatius and Photius, 351-4; excommunicates Formosus, 384; sanctions the Slavonic liturgy, 364; his death, 331.
- IX., 353, 366, 385.
- X., 466, 386-7.
- XI., 337.
- XII. (Octavian), 388-390.
- XIII., 391.
- XIV., 392.
- XV., 392, 398-400.
- XVIII., 412, 495, 527.
- , patriarch of Constantinople (the Easter), 8, 10; his Penitential, 220.
- (the Grammarian), 252, 257, 260.
- , the almsgiver, 31.
- of Damascus, 84-5, 91, 213.
- of Gaeta, *see* Gelasius II.
- of Piacenza, antipope, 393.
- , Scotus, 2, 3, 331; writes against Gottschalk, 294; on the Eucharist, 283, 608-611.
- of Old Saxony, 294, 361.
- , bp. of Velletri, antipope (Benedict X.), 535, 539.
- Jonas, bp. of Orleans, 262-6.
- Judicature, 180, 470, 660.
- Justinian II., 51-2.

K.

- Kiersy, councils of, 268, 279, 291, 296.
- Kilian, missionary to Thuringia, 73.
- Koran, 32-4.

L.

- Landulph, agitator of Milan, 542, 554.
 Lanfranc, 608; his controversy with Berengar, 609-614; becomes archbp. of Canterbury, 658; gets the pall at Rome, 562, 659; his relations with Gregory VII., 660-2; with Anselm, 665.
 Language of Divine service, 210.
 Laurence, abp. of Canterbury, 62.
 Leander, abp. of Seville, 20, 57.
 Lebuin, 128.
 Legates, 463, 574, 632.
 Legends, 220, 494.
 Leidrad, abp. of Lyons, 158-9.
 Leo III. (the Isaurian), emperor, 53, 80; persecutes the adherents of images, 81, *seqq.*; correspondence with Gregory II., 87; his measures against the Paulicians, 169; his death, 81.
 — IV., 140.
 — V. (the Armenian), 149; persecutes the Paulicians, 171; persecutes the adherents of images, 248-3; is murdered, 254.
 — VI. (the Philosopher), 352; deprives Photius, 354; question as to his fourth marriage, 376-7.
 — II., pope, 49, 56.
 — III., is attacked, and goes to Charlemagne, 123-4; crowns him emperor, 124; his judgment as to procession of the Holy Spirit, 161; communications with Louis the Pious, 235; death, *ib.*
 — IV., 278, 282-3, 311.
 — VIII., 306.
 — IX. (Bruno), is nominated pope, 512; interview with Hildebrand, *ib.*; is elected at Rome, 514; holds synods at Rheims, Meutz, &c. 524; again in Germany, 524; campaign against the Normans, captivity and death, 524-6; his mission to Constantinople, 528; condemns Berengar, 610-1.
 —, legate in France, 398, 400.
 Leodegar (Leger), bp. of Autun, 60.
 Leonine city, 278.
 Leutard, fanatic, 417.
 Leuteric, abp. of Sens, 607.
 Lichtfeld an archbishoprick, 176.
 Liemar, abp. of Bremen, 571, 590.
 Lindisfarne, bishoprick of, 62.
 Liutprand, Lombard king, 87, 113-4.
 — bp. of Cremona, 385-6, 393, 391, 475.
 Livin, bishop of Ghent, 75.
 Lombards, become catholics, 57; their relations with Rome, 87-113, 116; overthrow of their kingdom, 121.
 Lord's Day, 215.
 Lothair, son of Louis the Pious, 237, 274, 282, 310-1; at Rome, 239; crowned as emperor, 240; rebels, seizes, and releases his father, 242-4; makes terms, 246; abdicates, 300.
 — II., marriage with Theutberga, 300; question of his divorce, 301-9; his communion with Adrian II., 309; his death, 310.
 Lotharingia, 271.

- Louis the Pious, 229, 293, 336-7; his coronation, 233; reforms the court, *ib.*; transactions with Leo III., 235; crowned again by Stephen IV., *ib.*; reforms the church and monasteries, 200, 236, 483; partition of the empire, 237; rebellion and death of Bernard, 240; marriage with Judith, 239; penance at Attigny, *ib.*; sends a commission to Rome, 240; rebellion against him, 241; the Field of Lies, 243; his forced abdication, 245; recovers power, 246; fresh troubles, 247; his death, *ib.*; treats with the pope on images, 261-3; communications with Constantinople, 263; encouragement of missions, 366, 370.
 — II., emperor, 278, 282, 284, 300, 304, 326, 343, 345.
 — of Bavaria or Germany, 237, 245-7, 271, 291, 343.
 — the Stammerer, 331-2.
 — the Fat, 680, 690.
 Lucca, holy face of, 663.
 Luitpold, abp. of Meutz, 524.
 Lull, abp. of Meutz, 167, 204.
 Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, 289, 293, 317.

M.

- Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, 46-8.
 Mahomet, 32-6; conquests of his followers, 36-7, 58.
 Mainotes, conversion of, 361.
 Majolus, abbot of Cluny, 379, 485.
 Manasses, abp. of Arles, 480.
 —, abp. of Rheims, 702.
 Manichæans, 98, 164, 418-423.
 Mansus, 94, 236.
 Marbod, bp. of Remes, 705.
 Marinus, pope, 332, 350, 354, 385.
 Maronites, 54.
 Marozia, 386-7.
 Marriages, fourth, question of, 376; marriage of clergy sanctioned in the Greek church, 196; hereditary bishops of Char, 197; British and Anglo-Saxon churches, 198, 659; the Irish church, 430.
 Martial, decreed an apostle, 455.
 Martin I., pope, 44-5, 74.
 Martyrologies, 494.
 Masses, 211.
 Masspriests, 194.
 Matilda, countess, 533, 563, 576, 580, 586-7, 619; her donation to the papacy, 520, 649, 687; her zeal for Gregory VII., 596-8; marriage with Welf, 623; separation, 649; submission to Henry V. and interview with him, 682, 684; her death, 687.
 Maurice, emperor, 3, 9, 10-1.
 Maximus, confessor, 41-5.
 Meinwerc, 467.
 Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, 37-8.
 Mercia, missions to, 63.
 Merovingians, dethronement of, 111.
 Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople, 260, 335.
 —, missionary, 435; in Bulgaria, 344; in Moravia, 362-5.

Metropolitans, 182, 270, 462-3.

Michael I. (Rhaugabé), emperor, 149, 170.

— II. (the Stammerer), 251; his policy as to images, 254-7; sends an embassy to the west, 256, 293.

— III. (the Drunkard), 260, 333; his correspondence with Nicolas I., 333-342; with Louis II., 343; is defeated by the Paulicians, 172; his murder, 347-8.

—, bp. of Ratisbon, 473.

—, Cerularius, 527-530.

Milan, troubles at, 413-4, 554-7, 540-5, 570, 687.

Miracles deprecated, 218, 496, 700.

Missi Dominici, 139.

Monasticism, 201-210, 482-493, 698-717; in England, 70, 208, 425.

Monothelism, 37-54, 67, 82, 213.

Monte Cassino, privileges of, 533, 716.

Monteforte, heresy at, 421-2.

Moravia, 165-6, 361-6.

Mozarabes, 356.

N.

Nec Ilire, 102.

Nestorians, 163-4.

Nicaea, second council of, 142-6; received by the pope, 150; rejected by the Franks, 153.

Nicene creed, 161, 410.

Nicephorus I. emperor, 148-9, 170.

— II. (Phocas), 377, 467.

—, patriarch of Constantinople, 218, 252.

Nicetas Pectoratus, 529.

Nicolaïtans, 542.

Nicolas I., pope, 283, 463; subjects the abp. of Ravenna, 284; case of Gotschalk, 298; case of Lothair's divorce, 302-6; case of Rothad, 315; adopts the Forged Decretals, 317; confirms union of Bremen with Hamburg, 371; excommunicates Photius, 339-341; correspondence with Michael III., 342; requests Hincmar to aid against the Greeks, 313, 348; answer to the Bulgarians, 344; claims Bulgaria, 318; cites Cyril to Rome, 363; his death, 307; gain of the papacy under him, 313.

— II., 335; makes decree as to election of popes, 536; attempts to reform canonical life, 703; forces Berengar to retract, 613; treaty with the Normans, 538-9; dealings with the Milanese, 543-5; his death, 545; his decree disavowed by Hildebrandists, 601.

—, patriarch of Constantinople, 376.

Norbert, 700-712.

Normans, ravages of, 247, 275-7, 360; baptism of, 367; defeated by Arnulph, 378; settlement in France, 380; in Italy, 411; expedition of Leo IX. against, 521-6; treaty with Nicolas II., 533; conquest of Sicily, 539; of England, 656.

Norway, Christianity in, 447-454.

Notker, 494.

Nunneries, 209.

O.

Oblation of children, 289.

Odilo, abbot of Cluny, 415, 485-6, 492.

Odo (Eudes), king of France, 381.

—, bp. of Bayeux, 623, 662.

—, abbot of Cluny, 484.

Offa, king of Mercia, 176-7.

Olave Stotkonung, 446.

— Tryggvesen, 449-452, 455.

—, St., 452-4.

Ordeals, 224-7, 301.

Organs, 212.

Orleans, sectaries at, 418.

Orthodoxy, feast of, 260.

Oswald, Northumbrian king, 62.

—, abp. of York, 427-9.

Oswy, Northumbrian king, 63-4.

Otbert, bp. of Liege, 653, 655.

Otgar, abp. of Mentz, 260, 289.

Otho I. (the Great), 380, 393, 397, 441, 445, 460, 474; deposes John XII., 388-390; his severity against the republicans of Rome, 391; his prerogative, 471.

— II., 392.

— III., 392; makes Gregory V. pope, 392; punishes Crescentius, 393; patronises Gerbert, and raises him to the papacy, 399, 403; visits Gnesen, 406, 437, 472; his death, 406.

—, bp. of Ostia, *see* Urban II.

—, bp. of Bamberg, 650.

Ouen, abp. of Rouen, 61, 75.

P.

Palatine School, 135-5.

Palatine, sufferings of Christians in, 500, 625.

Pall, use of the, 7, 462.

Pantheon, at Rome, 216.

Papacy in the seventh century, 55, 174; influence in England, 175; advance under Nicolas I., 307; degradation in the tenth century, 384; progress of, 459; claims of Gregory VII. for, 567; gain by the Crusades, 649.

Parochial division, 70, 185.

Paschal I., pope, 236-240, 253.

— II., 648, 653; excommunicates Henry IV., 650; his dealings with Henry I. of England, 674-7; holds synod at Guastalla, 680; refuses to allow lay investiture, 681; offers rather to surrender royalties, 682; is seized and imprisoned by Henry V., 683; concedes investiture, 684; troubles in consequence, 685-8.

Paschasius Radbert, 234, 243, 285-6, 607.

Patarines, 543, 575.

Patrimony of St. Peter, 7, 39.

Patronage of churches, 188.

Paul I., pope, 119.

—, patriarch of Constantinople, 42-4.

—, Paulician teacher, 164, 168.

—, Warnfried, 133, 136.

Paulicianism, 164-173, 255, 473.

Paulinus, abp. of York, 62.

—, patriarch of Aquileia, 156-7.

Pelagius II., pope, 2, 3, 11.

- Penance, 222, 461, 501.
 Penitentials, 222, 501.
 Peter Damiani, 401, 415, 461, 471, 513, 611, 617; his life of Dominic, 517; zeal against marriage of the clergy, 518; language as to the Blessed Virgin, 496; opposes simony, 469, 519; becomes cardinal, 534; opposes John of Velletri, 535; is sent to Milan, 543; and to Osborn, 548; withdraws from his dignity, 549; tract on short life of popes, 550; encourages disturbances at Milan, 555; is legate in Germany, 559; his epigrams on Hildebrand, 564; his death, 563.
 —, patriarch of Antioch, 530.
 — the Fiery, 558.
 — the Hermit, 626-7, 633-4, 633, 642.
 — of Sicily, 165, 173.
 —, abbot of Cluny, 699.
 Peterpence, 177, 661.
 Philip of France, 568, 628-630, 648.
 Philippiens, emperor, 53.
 Phocas, emperor, 11, 30.
 Photius, 305, 313, 433, 435; his *Bibliotheca*, 336; is consecrated patriarch, 337; defends his ordination, 340-1; is excommunicated at Rome, *ib.*; excommunicates pope Nicolas, 346; writes against Manichæans, 165; writes to the Bulgarians, 344; denounces the Latin church, 346; is deposed, 348; anathematised by a council, 350; his sufferings, 351; is restored, 352; presides at the council of 879, 353; is again deposed, and dies, 351-5.
 Piacenza, council of, 627.
 Pilgrimages, 221-2, 403, 405, 411, 499, 625.
 Pilgrin, bp. of Passau, 441.
 Pipin of Herstal, 77.
 — le Bref, 101; becomes king, 107, 114; his expeditions to Italy, 117; donation to the pope, 118.
 Pluralities, 205, 480.
 Poland, 439.
 Polychronius, Monothelite, 48.
 Pontius, abbot of Cluny, 691, 699.
 Præmonstratensians, 710.
Precurie or *Presturie*, 190.
 Predestination, 288, *see* Gottschalek, John Scotus.
 Primates, 270.
 Prudentius, bp. of Troyes, 292, 296-7.
 Prussia, 437, 438.
 Purgatory, 22, 214.
 Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, 41-2.
- Q.
- Quadripartite division, 17, 192.
 Quinisext council, *see* Trullan.
- R.
- Raban Maur, 134, 286, 289, 291, 293, 172, 493.
 Radbod, Frisian king, 76-8, 96.
 Ralph, abp. of Canterbury, 679, 692.
 — Flambard, 663, 667, 673.
 Ratherius, 480-1.
 Ratramn, 287, 293, 318, 606, 608.
 Ravenna, 56, 285.
 Regino, 272, 284, 516.
 Relics, 21, 218-9, 498, 612.
 "Religion" equivalent to monachism, 201.
 Remigius, abp. of Lyons, 296-7.
 Republicanism at Rome, 311, 409.
 Resurrection, controversy on, 2.
 Rheims, contests for the see of, 384, 394; synod of, in 1049, 520; in 1119, 690.
 Riculf, abp. of Mentz, 268.
 Rimbart, abp. of Hamburg, 371-5.
 Robert the Strong, 277-9.
 — I. of France, 400-1, 419, 607.
 — Guiscard, 533-9, 597-600, 620.
 — duke of Normandy, 635, 670, 677, 690-3.
 — of Arbrissel, 704.
 — of Molesme, 706.
 Roderick, Spanish king, 58.
 Rodold, bishop of Porto, 303, 339, 341.
 Roger, Great Count of Sicily, 539, 628, 636, 647.
 Rollo, 382.
 Rome, alienated from the eastern empire, 86, 113, 118, 122, 125; character of the Romans, 391.
 Romuald, 487.
 Rosary, 497.
 Rothad, bp. of Soissons, 269, 317-9.
 Roum, kingdom of, 623, 643.
 Royalties, 465, 682.
 Rudbert, missionary in Bavaria, 73.
 Rudolph, duke of Swabia, 583; elected king of the Germans, 591; his war with Henry IV., 592; his death, 595, 635.
 Rustic Roman, 136.
 Russia, 432-5.
- S.
- Saints, reverence for, 217.
 Saracens, in France and Italy, 100, 213, 277, 379.
 Saxons, wars of Charlemagne with, 127-8, 129; forcible conversion of, 130; revolt against the Carolingians, 275; wars with Henry IV., *see* Henry IV.
 Scotland, 431; peculiar usages, 61; Scottish missionaries to England, 61-5.
 Scripture supposed to be forbidden to the laity, 170; Charlemagne's care for, 135-6.
 Secular employments forbidden to the clergy, 194.
Senior, 237.
 Serenus, bp. of Marseilles, 25.
 Serfs, 205.
 Sergius I., pope, 50-1.
 — II., 282.
 — III., 335-6.
 — IV., 409.
 — patriarch of Constantinople, 37, *scqq.*
 — Paulician, 169-171.
Servus servorum Dei, 10.
 Severin, pope, 41.
 Sicily, conquered by the Saracens, 277; by the Normans, 549; monarchy of, 617.
 Sigebert, Frankish king, 43.
 — of Gemblours, 653.

Siegfried, abp. of Mentz, 562, 570-1, 573, 579, 591, 625.
 Signin, abp. of Sens, 395, 399, 491.
 Simony, 189, 469, 511, 572.
 Slavery, 160, 223, *seq.*; 374, 646.
 Slavonic nations, 217, 277; alphabet, 362; liturgy, 363, 438.
 Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, 31-40.
 Soulscot, 215.
 Spain, in viith century, 57; Mahometan conquest, 58; councils, 180; persecution in, 356-9.
 Stephen II., pope, 112, 116-8.
 — III., 119, 120.
 — IV., 235-6.
 — V., 332, 354.
 — VI., 335.
 — IX. (Frederick of Lorraine), 514; goes as legate to Constantinople, 528; his advancement, 532; his papacy, 531-5; conduct as to Milan, 543.
 — king of Hungary, 442-4, 437.
 — bp. of Dor, 40, 56.
 — Byzantine monk, 93.
 — Harding, 707.
 — of Thiers, 699.
 Stewards, diocesan, 192.
 Stigand, 656-7.
 Sturmi, abbot of Fulda, 102, 128, 201.
 Suidbert, 95.
 Superstitious, pagan, forbidden, 102.
 "Surety," image of the, 83, 251.
 Sussex, conversion of, 67.
 Sutri, council of, 416.
 Sweden, 369-373, 416.
 Sylvester II., pope (Gerbert), 334-5; chosen abp. of Rheims, 396; his oath, 417; withdraws from Rheims, but maintains his right to the see, 399-400; becomes pope, 403; gives Arnulph the pall, 404; contest with Willigis, *ib.*; idea of a crusade, 405; his death, 407.
 — III., antipope, 414-6.

T.

Tanchelm, 711.
 Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, 142-4, 147.
 Tartary, 164.
 Taxation of the clergy, 194.
 Tedald, abp. of Milan, 570, 578, 592.
 Templars, 713-5.
 Tenths and ninths, 191.
 Thegan, 232, 244.
 Theodelinda, 12, 22, 72.
 Theodemir, 265.
 Theodora, empress, 171, 259-261, 333, 335, 343.
 —, mother of Marozia, 386.
 Theodore I., pope, 42-3, 56.
 —, patriarch of Constantinople, 46.
 —, abp. of Canterbury, 65-8, 201, 212, 215, 229; parochial division ascribed to him, 70; his Penitential, 223.
 —, bp. of Pharan, 37, 43.
 — the Studite, 142, 171, 229, 260; his zeal for images, 249, 253; is imprisoned and banished, 253; his exaltation over Leo's murder, 255; dies in exile, 256.
 Theodosians, 38.

Theodotus Cassiteras, patriarch of Constantinople, 252.
 Theodulf, bp. of Orleans, 134-6, 214, 238-9.
 Theophanes, 252, 258-260.
 Theophilus, emperor, 257-9.
 Theophylact, *see* Benedict IX.
 —, patriarch of Constantinople, 463.
 Theotwin, bp. of Liege, 611.
 Theutbergan, 300-310.
 Theutgaud, abp. of Treves, 300, 303-5, 309.
 Thomas I., abp. of York, 563, 658.
 — II., ———, 692.
 Thuringia, Christianity in, 73, 96, 101.
 Thrasimund, abbot of Premiti, 602.
 Thurstan, abp. of York, 693.
 Timothy, Nestorian patriarch, 161.
 Tithes, 19, 131, 180, 474.
 Toledo, primacy of, 57.
 Tonsure, 61, 65, 186.
 Transubstantiation, 167, 213, 286, 614.
 Tripartite division, 193.
 Trosley, council of, 402, 474, 483.
 Trullan council, 50-2, 196-7.
 Truce of God, 503, 629.
 Trypho, patriarch of Constantinople, 468.
 Turks, conquests of, 625.
 Tusculan popes, 403.
 Type of Constans, 42-3.

U.

Ulric, bp. of Augsburg, 482, 486, 495.
 Universal bishop, 8-12, 55, 142, 461, 527-9.
 Unni, abp. of Bremen, 444, 446.
 Unwan, abp. of Bremen, 445.
 Urban II. (Otho, bp. of Ostia), 601, 619; is chosen pope, 621; his distress, *ib.*; authorises the death of excommunicates, 622; modifies decrees of anathema, *ib.*; encourages the rebellion of Conrad, 624; inaugurates the Crusade, 626-630; excommunicates Philip of France, 629, 630; grants the Sicilian monarchy, 647; recognition of him in England, 663, 670; his treatment of Anselm, 671-3; patronises Robert of Arbrissel, 704; his death, 648.
 Usuard, 494.

V.

Vallombrosa, order of, 489, 699.
 Vicars of the pope, 7, 463.
 Victor II. (Gebhard, bp. of Eichstedt), 525, 531-2.
 — III. (Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino), 413, 534, 597, 601-2, 619, 620, 626.
 Vidames, 187.
 Vilgard, 417.
 Virgil, bp. of Salzburg, 105.
 Virgin, the Blessed, 58, 217, 496, 645.
 Visitations, 184.
 Vitalian, pope, 46, 65.
 Vladimir, 431-5.

W.

Wala, abbot of Corbie, 231, 233-243, 367-8.

- Walafrid Strabo, 286, 413.
 Walter of Pacy and Walter the Pennyless,
 633-4.
 Wazo, bp. of Liege, 422, 512.
 War, share of the clergy in, 106, 195, 473,
 644.
Wahr, 194-5, 222, 227.
 Welf, duke of Bavaria, 583, 649, 681.
 Wenceslay, duke of Bohemia, 436.
 Wends, Christianity among, 441.
 Wenilo, abp. of Sens, 269, 271, 296, 301,
 317.
 Werinher, bp. of Strasburg, 443.
 Wettin, vision of, 214.
 Whitby, conference at, 64.
 Widikind, Saxon chief, 129.
 Widukind, annalist, 489.
 Wilfrid, bp. of York, 46, 64-70, 202, 229.
 William I. of England, 595-6, 569, 611;
 deprives Stigand, 657; his ecclesiastical
 policy, 659; his relations with Gregory
 VII., 660 2.
 William II., 662-673.
 — of Champeaux, 631.
 —, abbot of Dijon, 527.
 —, abbot of Einschau, 483.
 —, bp. of Roschild, 446.
 —, bp. of Utrecht, 579-582.
 Willibrord, bp. of Utrecht, 77, 96, 249.
 Willigis, abp. of Mentz, 401-5, 477.
 Witiza, Spanish king, 58.
 Worms, concordat of, 696.
Worship distinguished from *Service*, 116.
 Wulfad, 311-3.
 Wulfram, bp. of Sens, 76.

Y.

- Yaroslav, 435, 453.
 York, see of, 66, 133, 563, 658, 693.

Z.

- Zacharias, pope, 23, 101-4, 114-6, 175.

THE END.

ERRATA.

- Page 224, note 7, for 93, read 933.
 „ 495, line 16, for John XIX, read John XVIII.
 „ 527, „ 8, for John XX, read John XVIII.



JULY 75



N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA

**ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED**